

THE CELTIC REVIEW



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THE CELTIC REVIEW

DECEMBER 1914

THE EFFECT OF THE 1745 RISING ON THE
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE

Since this number was printed we have learned with deep regret of Professor Mackinnon's death, which occurred in the Isle of Colonsay on Christmas Day.

IVISINGS.

Jacobitism had its origin in the revolution of 1688, when the abandonment of the throne by James VII. and II. had generated that remarkable loyalty and devotion exemplified in the prolonged drama in which Culloden was the final tragedy. But though the continued purpose of the spirit of Jacobitism, as a menace to the Hanoverian dynasty, was then crushed, the national features of that spirit con-

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tinue still to assert themselves in warm sentiments, the intensity of which corresponds with the Celtic ardour of the individual. Clearly, then, the various risings of the eighteenth century cannot be intelligibly separated from each other, nor can the industrial and social progress in the Highlands in the latter half of that century, which historians have greatly exaggerated, be adequately accounted for by the alleged impetus given to civilisation by the mastery of Hanoverian arms.

Now it is the business of the historian to sift scientifically and synthesise all ascertainable facts and then draw reasonable conclusions. To be adequately equipped for such a task, he must have a knowledge of the language, literature, traditions, customs, and environments of the people whose history he records, as well as a sympathetic interest in their outlook on the world. He may be detached, but he must not be ignorant. It is because all historians of our Highland race, with one exception, from Lord Macaulay downwards, were palpably defective in these essentials, that we have presented to us in current histories such gloomy pictures of our Highland race previous to the '45 as would make us spurn the rock out of which we have been hewn, were it not that these depressing writings are historically of little value.

Let us, then, for convenience, take the great landmark of the historians—the '45—as the dividing line between a past of alleged unmitigated barbarity and ignorance, and a new and glowingly glorious dispensation. By keeping close to ascertainable facts in this contrast and comparison on which writers insist, their picture of the past, when it assumes the proportion of reality, will appear wonderfully free of their hideous accretions, while the '45 will be found in fact to usher in one of the saddest and soul-harrowing chapters in our chequered Highland history. What do we find writers of the eighteenth century to allege? Metaphysicians like Lord Monboddo, political writers like Fletcher of Saltoun, and learned professors like John Millar of

Glasgow, borrow their illustrations and images of rudeness and barbarity from the life and manners of a people of whose life they form conceptions entirely out of harmony with the actual and real as depicted by their own poets and chroniclers. Ignorance is no excuse for the wrong done to the Gael by such people, as Professor Mackinnon properly protests. Honest Patrick Walker, with less learning than the historians, metaphysicians, and economists, but with unquestionable sincerity, in writing of the Highland host of 1685, for which we make no apology, suggests to us at once how a chivalrous people can be imagined monsters because of ignorance of speech. 'These Highlanders,' says Patrick, 'were brought to the west to rob and plunder, and to frighten people, more especially women and children by their strange language, not knowing whether they were to kill them or save them alive; which is a great aggravation of a judgment.' Writers quoted in the *Scots Magazine* for 1746 express themselves with even greater ferocity when describing the people of the 'strange language,' although they are not directly suffering from a 'great aggravation' of a judgment. 'The hearts of these people,' say they, like 'the rocky Highlands they inhabit, are a soil that will not bear any culture.' 'All men are born alike, and the children of savages, with the same nature, are capable of the same improvement as the children of *Englishmen*,' and then by transporting the parents, 'and breeding up their children in loyal principles, the name of *Highlander* by this means would in another century scarcely exist.' 'It now seems that Providence has given us the opportunity of at least reducing the number of these malignant wretches; and tho' the total extirpation of them may not be practicable, surely none should be spared that have ventured to infringe our laws.' Now, these quotations might be dismissed as the wild ebullitions of frenzied but ignorant scribblers, were it not that they embody the opinions of the average English and Lowland citizen, which have passed into literary currency as a

correct portraiture of our race. In that standard work, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Henry Grey Graham, writing of these 'dark benighted regions,' says: 'The ignorance, the superstition, the savagery of the Highlands were the despair of the Lowlands.' This vague but sweeping generalisation, which is surely not flattering, may be taken as the latest positive statement on the condition of our people, but must not be accepted without the reserve which the lack of concrete illustration necessarily requires. But if such writers indulge in fancy and present it for truth, it is our duty to investigate the possible data, cement them together, and deduce general conclusions to be placed in juxtaposition to the picture before us.

The Highlanders were a homogeneous people, composed of separate and independent tribes, drawn into unity against a common foe by forces which were not material but spiritual; and the cohesion within the clans rested on the community of the same traditions, the same glorious memories of departed heroes, and the same aspirations. The government and preservation of the clan was the outcome of this national spirit, and its practical application required the maintenance and care of the entity for the need of the whole. There was thus an interdependence between the family and its head, or the chief and his clan. This necessarily begat mutual respect, which evolved that heroism, loyalty, devotion, and hospitality that are the recognised features of the Highland character. In short, we had here a modified form of the socialistic state of modern political idealists. Was it barbarous? Was it savage? Intertribal feuds and forays there were unquestionably among those martial races and those strong men of hot passions. But what were these but miniatures of those wars of aggrandisement which engaged the energy of every civilised state in Europe? All European rulers were not humane, but all Europe was not therefore barbarous. It is true that in the *Register of the Privy Council*

of *Scotland* from 1661-1664 there are alleged Highland 'thefts, robberies, murders, depredations, spuizies, and other heynous crimes.' But this was spasmodic, and not a continuous feature; it was also local and not universal. That all chiefs were not free of cunningness and deception must be admitted; but while there were Barisdales and Lovats among them, so there were Macleods and MacRaes, and it is when historians accept the former as typical of their class, and entirely ignore the latter and more numerous, that history suffers violence. Duncan MacRae of Inverinate was a character pleasant to contemplate. He was a refined and polished gentleman, cultured, liberal, and pious. A poet, and a collector of poetry, he invokes the Muse in contemplation on the higher themes of religion; neither harsh nor cruel, but humane and gentle, he is as different from the historians' conception of a Highland chief of the Revolution as can well be conceived. Of the other, Mary Macleod sings in unstinted admiration, and her portrayal of the chieftain from personal observation is surely worthy of more credence than the fancies of those who wrote from behind the barrier of speech, ignorance, and racial prejudice. She sings:—

And Erin shakes hands with him
Over the brine;
Brave son of brave father,
The pride of his line,
In camp and in Council,
Where virtue was seen;
And his purse was as free
As his claymore was keen.

To form an estimate of some accuracy of the social conditions of the community beneath the chiefs for more than a hundred years prior to the '45, we have fortunately at our disposal for examination, not merely the prose and poetry of the people, but the records of the ecclesiastical courts. These latter throw light of no inconsiderable power and value on the life and manners of the people. The clergy

were rigorous disciplinarians who administered justice with striking impartiality. The chief, the clergyman, and the commoner must alike yield to their interpretation of law. Acting the part of policemen and police magistrates, every possible crime came within their purview, and very few could possibly escape their watchful care. Fugitives from discipline were traced by the Presbytery of Inverness to crowded London, seagirt Orkney, mountainous Assynt, and remote Strathnaver, and in each case brought to task. The record of their persistence and success in detecting and punishing crime may be unhesitatingly accepted as a true reflection of the conduct of the worst of the people. The range of criminality extended over a wide field. There are cases of slander, disputed paternity, assault, adultery, fornication, breach of promise, separation, divorce, blasphemy, Sabbath breaking, intemperance and begging. Cases of murder there are, but they are few. Capital crimes and higher offences against the civil law are relatively few in proportion to the breaches of the seventh commandment; and the large catalogue of the latter is accounted for by the lapsing and 'trelapsing' of the same unfortunate offender. The Records disclose little of the premeditated vindictiveness associated with crime; slanders are often the result of temporary explosions of injured pride without criminal intentions. Assaults were committed without the violent brutality that now so frequently aggravates that kind of crime. Mean advantage of the weak, cruel and crafty intrigue, as well as unchivalrous treatment of the gentler sex do not obtrude themselves on the eye.

It is with bitter irony indeed a Highlander might contrast the civilisation of the south with the so-called barbarism of the north. For after forty and more years of the impetus of that advancing civilisation, the *hangman's department* of the *Historical Register* of 1792 reveals a grim tale of violence exceeding in fierceness anything recorded by the quick eye of the northern clergy. There we find lists of 'barbarians who kill horses and skin them

undetected,' 'assassins,' 'robbers,' 'housebreakers,' 'cutters away of pockets,' 'incorrigable thieves,' 'stealers of coal,' 'incorrigable prostitutes,' besides 'other thieves, cheats, barbarians, and prostitutes whose number cannot be specified.' In the domain of impure morality nothing in the northern records can for once be compared with the *Whir Clubs* in Glasgow and Edinburgh, where the sons of the better class formed themselves into societies, whose membership, male and female, conducted themselves in a manner which fills one with horror and disgust.

The superstition of the Highlands has been the fond theme of many a writer, and nearly in every case to show the benighted state of these simple people. Superstition in most instances is the survival of beliefs that formed the ruling principles of the religion our fathers practised on the other side of the purifying flood of Christian years. Cleansed of their rude and cruel rites, the beliefs survived. Ignorance of the science of comparative religion identified those mysteries, charms, and incantations with a form of devil worship, hence the persistence with which they are suppressed, and the ascription of barbarism to their devotees. At Dornoch, on the 16th of February 1698, Donald McPhail alleged, before the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland, 'that his wife suffering from a distemper of the heart, and the said Robert pretending to a skill in the cureing therof, he was called for and coming he took a dishful of water and pouring out melted lead yrinto, it turned immediately in the water into the form of ane heart, and this water applied to the parts about the heart had, as he alledged, a sovereign virtue for cureing all the diseases of the heart.' The Court at once condemned the practice, and yet we find in *Dalrymple's Decrees*, 28th July 1721, 'in an action of Spuilzie raised and pursued before the Lords of Council and Session at the instance of Mr. Daniel McKilliken, minister of the Gospel at Alness,' a claim 'for a very fine stene which never failed effectually to cure severall inward diseases in horses worth at least £66 13s. 6d. (scot.)' Here

we have the mystery religion of the vagrant empiricist condemned as barbarous heathenism, while the similar empiricism of the cultured evangelical divine is honoured by recognition and reward in the annals of our civilised law-courts. Though the Beaton and the M'Connachers were eminent physicians fully abreast of the scientific knowledge of their time, their successors were not equally scientific and capable, and the mystery religion with its weird practices continued to keep its hold on the faith of the people. The blood of the cock's comb was applied to shingles, and the 'civilised' have called us savage for burying a live cock to cure epilepsy. But what will the 'civilised' have to say of Dr. Graham of Newcastle, 'who' on the 21st of July 1792, 'for the cure of a scorbutic disorder placed himself and a young woman both naked to the earth covered up to the lips for more than five hours.' Which was the more barbarous act? Nor do we find in our records of clerical infirmities anything so blatantly irreligious as the language of a contemporary English parson, who when 'he had delivered eight or ten lines of his sermon, the fumes of the hot punch overwhelmed him so effectually, that he fell sprawling in the pulpit.' On getting up he thus addressed his hearers: 'My good friends, I don't know whether you have had enough, but I am sure I have: farewell.' But it may be protested that the life of a community should not be historically described from isolated instances, and after all the class of people who came under the lash of the session and presbytery was a comparatively small one, and that the records of a police court are an unsafe standard of a country's morality. We agree, on condition that the historians apply the same criterion with equal discrimination to the life of the north as to that of the south. We claim that our chiefs should be judged by the standard provided by the life and conduct of the pious and cultured MacRae, and not by that of our most turbulent and crafty raider, and that the common people should be set before us, not in the light of their chief deficiencies, but in the truer

light of their warm and generous daily life. If that were done the hideous features which the rhetorical word-painters have daubed on the pages of our Scottish history, which we are obliged to read, would vanish; and we would have presented to us a people neither ignorant nor barbarous.

X It has to be proved that culture consists in the knowledge of the English alphabet. Culture indeed can neither be taught nor communicated. It is the development of a people along the lines of their vital interests. Religion, whether in the ancient form of the worship of the fierce gods of the Celtic pantheon, or in the revealed form of the New Testament, was their chief concern. With the eyes of their soul unglazed with the artificial aid of acquired knowledge, they peered into the mysteries of the visible and invisible world: and they interpreted their religion by the visible symbols around them. This developed an imaginative faculty of unparalleled power among races, a rapid intuition and swift vision, faculties and features that are surely close handmaidens to culture. So it was that when surgeon Alex. Ross of Tain came to the people of Easter Ross in 1717 with the freethinking of the 'great scholars and learned men at College,' and argued 'against the chief principle of our religion such as the being of a God,' the common people answered him by referring him to the tides, the sun, the moon and the stars, reasoning from nature to nature's God. Writing of his people on 20th June 1744, the Rev. John Balfour of Nigg says: 'They often fill me with a conscious blush when I am among them and hear them praying as well as speaking to religious cases. The men of letters dispute Heaven, these live it.' And yet these are the people that English writers call savages!

In humble circumstances, and still humbler homes of rude turf or wicker, the common people prove that happiness dwells more frequently in the hovel than in the gilded chamber. Without the pressure of an artificial environment, they lived their days in contentment and joy. To

the whirl of wheel and motion of distaff, the religious songs, lyric poetry, and the heroic ballads of centuries past nourished their intellectual lives. In the poorest hovel were men and women skilled in recitation, and with oral literature so full of wit, imagination, feeling, and dignity, at their disposal, life was not a cold and soulless mechanism making its daily revolutions in quest of gain. True, they fought and fought manfully, but that was but a mere sportive remission of energy and enthusiasm in loyalty to the ideal. There was no staring poverty, no grinding of the poor. One hesitates to accept the history that sets them forth as a rude and savage herd. The people that produced the poets and poetry of *The Book of the Dean of Lismore*, or of the Fernaig MS., or of the MSS. of the Advocates' Library, surely merit a different definition. Were they benighted or uncivilised who could produce, or appreciate, the mass of literature that culminates in the ennobling themes of the imaginative genius of Rannoch? Surely a truer description of them, and of their life and joy, than that given by the historians is found in the pathetic farewell of the aged author of *Oran na Comhchaig* as the buoyant, happy life he lived among them glides from his view:—

And woe is me, 'tis past, 'tis past,
The men who rejoiced shall rejoice no more,
In the stir of the chase, in the bay of the hounds,
The laugh and the quaff and the jovial roar!

This condition of joyful life which passed through many vicissitudes was gradually disappearing since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and at the '45 received its deathblow. It does not seem amiss to examine here the forces that brought this about.

The opposing principles and aspirations which came into final conflict at Culloden do not admit of easy analysis. It seems clear, however, that the spirit of Jacobitism was more national and ecclesiastical than dynastic or political. The ecclesiastics differed from each other by the distance of the

credential beliefs and policies of Presbyterianism from those of Episcopacy and Romanism. The former dreaded the 'malignant party who were against our happy establishment to the great disturbance of the peace and the overthrow of the religion and liberties of our dear native land.' Doubtless the Episcopalians and Romanists, who differed hotly from one another, identified themselves with the Stuart cause, each hoping, thereby, to attain ascendancy in the land. Some of the chiefs were by conviction religiously afraid of the 'tyranny bred in France,' and accordingly arrayed themselves against it; others, groaning under grievances inflicted by the English Parliament since the Union, hailed an opportunity to regain lost power. The common people followed their chiefs in response, not merely to the spirit of loyalty to the chief, but also to their national ideal. Tenacity to an ideal was always a feature of the Gael, and the more the Gall encroached on his isolated domain, the more he felt bound to defend it. The land and its traditions were a sacred heritage. He did not weigh the possible material advantage that might come from a change in his conditions, for his attachment to his heritage was more than material: it was spiritual. It is only by a careful consideration of the latter phenomenon that the extraordinary devotion of the common people becomes intelligible and an object worthy of admiration. Doubtless many of the common people fought on the Hanoverian side, but possibly they would excuse themselves as the 'malignant' of Kintail did in the seventeenth century to the Presbytery of Dingwall, by confessing that he fought 'but not according to my judgment.'

Severe as was the penalty of their loyalty at Culloden, far severer were the cruelties, insults, and indignities that followed. These can be traced to two sources: the revengeful militarism of Cumberland, and the low character of his troops. 'Their peaceful Glens,' says Skene, 'were visited with the scourge of a licentious soldiery let loose upon the helpless inhabitants.' That this is by no means

a too severe indictment is amply proved by the *Active Testimony*, a little tract, now very rare, published in 1749. It was by the extreme covenanters who had no sympathy with Jacobitism, and is accordingly the more valuable aid to the science of historical accuracy. 'Cumberland's redcoats,' says the *Testimony*, 'were vermin from hell, who came in shoals from Flanders and England, bellowing forth their horrid curses and blasphemous oaths, and robbing, stealing, and ruining all wherever they came, defiling the land with their abominable whoredoms and other uncleannesses. Cumberland himself wrought all manner of wickedness with greediness and a high hand.' After Culloden 'the redcoats not only barbarously murdered the wounded and massacred the unarmed onlookers, but like incarnate devils they raged through the country murdering women and children and old infirm men in many places, and burning others in barns and in their houses without distinction of age or sex; hanging up some on iron hooks by the chins, and hanging up others by the thumbs, and then whipping them to death.' 'The country was so wasted that multitudes died of famine, many were found dead in caves, in huts, and in the fields with grass in their mouths,' and all these horrid tragedies were acted in the land by the special command of their inhuman Duke. An officer of the Hanoverian army corroborates with minute details this testimony of terrible atrocities. 'His royal Highness,' says the officer, 'has therefore been obliged to lay the rod more heavy upon them by carrying fire and sword through their country, and driving off their cattle, which were brought into the camp in great numbers, sometimes two thousand in a drove: and that the people were in a most deplorable way, and must perish by sword or famine, in particular Lochiel's house at Achnacary was burned on the 28th May 1746; Kinlochmoidart's, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, Cluny's, and Glengyles are served in the same manner; vast numbers of the common people's houses or huts are likewise laid in ashes; all the cattle, sheep, goats,

etc., are carried off, and several poor people, especially women and children, have been found dead in the hills, supposed to be starved. Three men found in arms in Lochaber were hanged.' Well might Will Fraser of Balmain, W.S., write to the Barons of the Exchequer, that 'after the burning of the house of Castledownie, the evening of the day of the Battle of Culloden, General Husk, who attended with the military, took care of all that was within, and the Sutherland militia carried off the whole that was without, of Cows, Horses, Oxen, etc., and the very meal out of the mills and Girnells, so that except three old coach-horse that were taken away by a servant of the late Captain Munro of Culcairn, there was not a sixpence saved of the late unfortunate Lord's whole effects within or without doors.' No wonder though John Roy Stuart sang in his plaintive dirge of woe :—

'Neath their feet we are trampled,
To our shame and ample disgrace,
Our lands and our dwellings
Are wasted and felled to our face,
Castle Downie, fire-blackened,
Is a ruin all lacking in form,
Oh, how bitter the changes
That have left us to range in the storm.

But not satisfied with these orgies of cruel passion, the demon of lust is let loose till John Roy can indeed bewail that :—

On our track is Duke William
And we fall by his villainous hand,
Till the vilest and basest
On the flower of our race have their stand.

How literally true is this description can be seen from a letter written by an officer in the duke's army at Fort Augustus on 10th June 1746: 'Yesterday His Royal Highness gave a fine holland smock to the soldiers wives, to be run for on these gallows, also bare backed, and riding with their limbs on each side of the horse, like men.

Eight started and there were three of the finest heats ever seen.' The moral baseness of His Royal Highness and his followers would require no further proof. By such people, and in such circumstances, was the glorious dispensation ushered in. No wonder though it was not fraught with blessing. When these moral pests were let loose on the people, they not only brought with them moral evils but physical diseases. In the island of Barra in the year 1746 the population was nearly decimated by smallpox, introduced by a party of military, and in the parish of Glenelg a hundred and forty persons were cut off by the same scourge traced to the same source. The many outdoor games were discarded for the indoor games of cards with their attendant trickery and quarrel, against which practice the religious poets, like MacLauchlan of Abriachan, inveigh with terrific vehemence. Religion got a set back from which it took years to recover, and lawlessness became rife. This is one example which has no parallel in any of the previous Presbyterian Records. On the 25th July 1750, a reference came up to the Presbytery of Tain, from the Kirk Session of Rosskeen, in regard to 'scandalous practices of diverse persons in Obsdale which are the subject of much grievous offence, complaint, and reproof through the country. Compeared John Fraser, tenant in Obsdale, Margaret MacKenzie, his wife, and Catherine Fraser, his daughter . . . and testify that upon the night intervening between the 22nd and 23rd of May, about or after midnight, John Munro, tacksman in Obsdale, Hugh Munro, tacksman in Culcraigie, and John Munro, tacksman in Kilistrie, did enter into the house of the said John Fraser in Obsdale, the people of the family being in bed and asleep, and having lighted a candle which they had brought with them, they dragged out of bed the said John Fraser's wife, Margaret MacKenzie (an aged woman who has been for some years in a most infirm and languishing state of health) and Catherine Fraser, her daughter, a girl seventeen years, and having cast them on the hard and cold floor without allowing them any time to put on any of their

clothes besides their shirts, using most horrid cursings and imprecations, calling them witches and devils, that Hugh Munro and John Munro aforesaid of Alness parish having drawn swords, held both the said women fast, while the other John Munro in Obsdale scored and cut their foreheads with an iron tool to the effusion of blood calling them witches.' Then follows minute and harrowing details deponed by several witnesses, and which are of such unsavoury character as renders their reproduction here impossible. This then is the first fruit of the new and glorious dispensation! Misery possessed the land. A minister from the north, writing on 21st June 1746, says: 'As the most of this parish is burned to ashes and all the cattle belonging to the rebels carried off by His Majesty's forces, there is no such thing as money or penny worth to be got in this desolate place. My family is now much increased by the wives and infants of those in the rebellion in my parish crowding for a mouthful of bread to keep them from starving; which no good Christian can refuse notwithstanding the villany of their husbands and fathers to deprive us of our religion, liberty, and bread.' Beggary had become so prevalent that kirk-sessions had to legalise it by certificate. Mothers with infants on their arms trudged through pathless glens and over trackless hills to the nearest towns, begging and, alas! starving on the way. In towns the horde of beggars swelled so alarmingly that the poor mothers from the hills were refused nature's coarsest products for the maintenance of life. Young women offered themselves for servile labour in southern towns and country districts, and alas! in many instances the glow of beauty nurtured in the heather and in happy innocence, their only asset in city life, proved their undoing.

Landlordism, a new force in Highland life, sprang now into power, and exercised its oppressive measures through cruel underlings. Concurrently with its rise appeared also a new feature in Highland character, a profound and bitter

dislike for superiors, *i.e.* landlordism in particular, or whoever was its embodiment. Landlordism may have been the outcome of new economic forces, and its oppression a natural expression of the greed which characterised it. But forces that oppressed begat here as always forces of retaliation, and the latter having their origin as early as 1715 have developed into that form of political redicalism which has ever since fired the Highland imagination. Seaforth, who possessed a great part of Ross-shire, soon after the '15, feeling the need of money, and, as a Government official says, 'remarkably disposed to grow rich, screwed his rents to an extravagant height.' As early as 1730, Rev. John Balfour of Nigg preaches against the sins of the times and marks out 'overrenting,' 'exorbitant charges,' 'oppression,' and 'luxurious entertainments' as among the chief. The paternal interest of the old chieftains was giving way, and the change of '45 destroyed it, for love for the people gave place to love of luxury. So it was that lands were cleared for greater rents. Men with money held the land under wadset and mortgage; and so far did this proceed in Ross-shire that in 1782, out of a total roll of eighty-three voters, only thirty-three were actually genuine. The holders of wadsets and mortgages must get their interest, and the spirit of landlordism must regale itself in Edinburgh, London, or Bath. There over the cup, the dice, and the cards, the substitutes of the erstwhile chief of the land often gambled away their possessions, and with them the happiness of their people. More money must be got and more clearances effected, or what they 'vitiously termed improving their estates.' Rents were raised, as in the instance of the poor women whom Knox met in Lochbroom in 1764, and whose crop was destroyed by flood. 'The loss of which' said she, 'I will bear as well as I can, but my rent is to be doubled, which is more than I can pay.' The people were driven off the land and huddled at the shores. Black cattle which roamed in their thousands on the hills and in the glens were either captured by the army of the king, or sold.

The industry that provided tons of hide and tallow, which were exported to Inverness or Glasgow, was a doomed trade. The interesting avocation of herdsman, to which class belonged Rob Donn and Duncan Ban McIntyre, ceased to give employment, and multitudes of the common people were thrown idle. The only liberty left to these freeborn people was the choice between starvation and emigration. With all their deeply rooted love for their native land, they chose the latter. A gentleman who then witnessed the embarkation for America of five hundred and fifty persons from one estate in the Highlands writes that 'the parting scene between the emigrants and their friends who remained behind was too moving for human nature to behold.' Fears of landlord oppression, of poverty and famine were the cause. If rent were unpaid the cattle were sold or seized, and whole families were reduced to the extremity of want, and turned, amidst all the inclemencies of winter, to relate their piteous tale, and to implore from their wretched but hospitable fellow-mountaineers a little meal or milk to preserve their infants from perishing in their arms. No wonder, then, though whole groups of men, women and children passed in continual succession to the sea-ports, and with such determined resolution that those who could not pay for their passage sold themselves to the captains who were to transport them to the new world, and were by these captains resold (as slaves) upon their arrival at the intended ports. No more pathetic story of human misery, the outcome of an inhuman system, could be penned than that given by Knox, the philanthropist, economist, and author: 'In my journeys through the Highlands' (between 1764-1780) says he, 'I often met families or bodies of people travelling to the ports. They generally edged off the road or hurried along as if shy of an interview. . . . They represented their distress with great feeling, most generally with tears: and with a strict regard to truth, as appeared in the uniformity of the accounts delivered by different companies, strangers to one another. "O Sir, we dinna leave our kintra without

reason, great reason, indeed, Sir. Sometimes our crops yield little more than the feed, and sometimes they are destroyed with rains or dinna rippen, but some of our lairds make nae allowance for these misfortunes. They seize our cattle and all our furniture, leaving us naething but the skin, which would be of nae service to them. They are not Highlanders—so greedy, Sir—but God will judge between them and us in His own gude time. O Sir, can you tell us anything about the kintra of America—they say that poor folk may get a living in it, which is mair than we can get in our parts. We are driven, Sir, with our poor bairns to a far land. We are begging our way to Greenock, and all our clothes, Sir, are on our backs, as you see. God forgive our oppressors who have brought us to this pass. We are strangers in the Lowlands; would you advise us to make our bargain with the captain of the ship. They say that those who have no money to pay for their passage must sell themselves to the captain. This is our case—O Sir, what have we done?—but it is God’s will—blessed be His holy name.”” What did they do indeed to merit such treatment? ‘Our fathers,’ said Lochinver men to Knox, ‘were called out to fight our master’s battles, and this is our reward.’ Knox computes that between 1763 and 1775, thirty thousand persons emigrated from the Highlands. Most of these were probably of the poorer class, who were scattered on the dispersion of the clans, and the rackrenting that followed. But after 1780 the stream of emigrants was even greater, as is amply proved by the frequency in the press of the period of such items of news as the following: ‘October 11th, 1791. On Wednesday came into Greenock, in distress, the *Fortune*, Captain McLeod. She was bound for North Carolina, having on board 350 passengers, men, women, and children, emigrants from the Island of Skye.’ Tack was added to tack, and the whole let out for sheep. Rents rose enormously. No tenant was to sell or buy without the factor’s order. On every sale he had his commission from the drover. ‘You are to intimate,’ said

the factor of Seaforth in 1780, to a Lewis tacksman, 'to the whole tenants in your district who pay rent to the factor, that they must sell no cattle this year, until the rents are paid, to any person who has not the factor's orders to buy ; and if any one attempt to buy with ready money, you are to arrest their cattle, and not allow them to be carried out of the country until the whole rents are paid up. This on your peril.' And in a country where Professor Walker of Edinburgh University observes one could see in the beginning of September some plots of luxuriant tobacco plants, as well hoed and as clean as any that ever were raised in Virginia or Berwickshire, hunger drove men and women to the shores, where they sustained life on cockles and dulse ; or bleeding living cattle and mixing the blood with peasemeal and kneading the mass into a bannock which was dried in the sun, they kept the wolf at bay. In midst of this raging poverty, rents had to be found to enable the contemporary lords of the land sit down to this sumptuous breakfast : 'A dram of whiskey, gin, rum, or brandy ; french rolls, oat and barley bread ; tea and coffee, honey, jellies, jams, and marmalade ; fine flavoured butter, fresh and salt, Cheshire and Highland cheese, a plateful of very fresh eggs ; fresh and salted herrings broiled ; haddocks and whittings with skins taken off ; cold round of venison ; beef and mutton hams.' And no wonder, Pennant observes, 'numbers of the miserales of this country [Sutherlandshire] were now (1772) emigrating. They wander in a state of desperation ; too poor to pay, they madly sell themselves for their passage, preferring a temporary bondage in a strange land to starving for life in their native soil.' It was the same everywhere throughout the Highlands. 'Since Whitsunday last,' says the *Historical Register* for June 1792, 'upwards of 600 persons, old and young, have left Kintyre and gone to Glasgow, Paisley, etc., in order to be employed at the cotton works of these and neighbouring places. The whole inhabitants of Cana have left the Island on board a vessel for the Clyde, being from

400 to 500 persons, to seek employment in the low country, the Island being let, it is said, to two persons for grazing sheep, by which they are all turned out of their small possession. A number of families, also from the Island of Lismore, Jura, and Islay, etc., are about to emigrate to America. By 1st August it is supposed that upwards of 2000 persons will have left Argyllshire, most of them to seek an asylum in a foreign country.' Sheep riots took place in Ross-shire, and Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, in an official letter, 1798, puts the cause of it beyond doubt. 'The sheep riots,' he says, 'originated in a (too well founded) apprehension that the landed proprietors in Ross-shire and some of the adjacent Highland counties were about to let their estates to sheep farmers, which meant all the former tenants would be ousted and turned adrift, and, of course, obliged to emigrate, unless they were elsewhere received, any probability of which they could not discover. And it is undoubted fact that in several instances, within these last two or three years, such speculations have been realised and the proprietors have, by these means, greatly increased their rent rolls, and diminished the number of people on their respective estates. Of this last but too many proofs might be adduced.' The legislature added to their distress, for in their penury the people had to pay taxes in increasing numbers since the Union on almost every commodity. Officials flooded the land, so that while for 1782 the gross produce for customs in the northern counties, Argyll, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland, amounted to—£2569 12s. 11*d.*, the expenses in collecting amounted to—£3105 11s. 7*d.*, or £535 18s. 8*d.* in excess of the revenue.

But though harassed on land, the legislature, instead of encouraging the people in the fishing industry, hampered it with enactments that rendered fishing commercially valueless. For, while five hundred Dutch busses fished freely along our shores, the busses of Scotland being bounty fed were restricted in their operations by laws prohibiting them

to buy from native fishing boats ; and all exported pickled herrings to the West Indies were likewise taxed. Ireland was free from those restrictions. With a heavy tax on salt, the fishermen who braved our western seas often reached their starving families with no money, and with only such quantities of fresh fish as could be consumed while they remained in that condition. Yet these virtuous but friendless men, while endeavouring by every means in their power to pay their rents, to support their wives and children, their aged parents, and in all respects to act the part of honest, inoffensive subjects, are dragged away, they know not where, to fight the battles of a nation that is insensible of their merit, and to obtain victories of which others are to reap the benefits. For not content with the voluntary service that in Campbeltown alone during the American war contributed a thousand men to the navy, and in the west of Scotland during the same period supplied from three to four thousand men,—on one single ship of the line not less than one hundred Highlanders being counted,—they were pressed into the army or navy when seeking harvest work on land, or fishing on the wide sea, by stratagems that did no credit to the humanity of the age. The sick, the aged, the lovers, the brothers, peered through the mouth of the night and morning for the return of the harvesters and fishermen, but in vain. The bones of sons and lovers bleached on the battle-fields of four continents, or were sucked by the shell-fish of the deep. And their dependants were awarded, not the shelter of the nation's power, but that provided by the wide canopy of heaven. No wonder though the spirit of the Highlander was broken, suffering so sorely, as Dugald Buchanan sadly sings :—

For men did not dare,
Whose head was made bare,
With poor bald pates, by the years,
In thy presence to stand,
But with bonnet in hand,
Though a frost wind pierced their ears.

They began henceforth to look on their country and their speech with contempt. They hated their oppressors. For the overthrow of the cruel system that oppressed them they yearned and prayed, their aspiration and their wish finding expression in this remarkable utterance of the same poet:—

Thy slave dost not now
In thy presence bow,
From fee, rent and taxes free;
Oh! blessed be death,
Thee slaughtered at length,
And thy pride under sod they see.

They became the easy prey of southern habits and southern ideals, in relation both to their speech and their garb. The effort of imitation brought in its train habits of reckless thriftlessness which, unfortunately, have not yet wholly disappeared. The lack of English came to be looked upon as a curse—*dith beurla ort*. Maidens abandoned their unsophisticated simplicity, the charm of their modesty, and the grace of their native attire, of which the poets sang so sweetly. The solution of birch buds with which they washed and scented their hair in spring had given place to other aids, and the simple dress, so minutely described in the *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, had almost wholly disappeared before the end of the century. At that time, even in comparatively remote Lochcarron, the Rev. Lachlan MacKenzie found it necessary to warn the people against the ‘new woman,’ the ‘well-drest girl.’ ‘They are the pests of Society,’ says the preacher, ‘they dress to catch and deceive fools. Observe the conduct of these well-drest girls. Is there a corner of the kirkyard but they traverse? And why? It is to give you a sight of their ribbands, their bonny napkins, and their muslin and calicoe gowns. If young women dress entirely beyond their rank, the world must believe either that they are fools, or that they are worse than fools.’

Such, then, was the treatment meted out to the race that

Wolfe praised and Chatham applauded. Such were the fruits of the new civilisation ushered in by Hanoverian arms, and fostered by Hanoverian Governments, among the people referred to in the eighteenth century by Professor Walker of Edinburgh University as 'a temperate, strong, hardy race of men, and of great energy and industry,' and quite recently described as the 'bravest, the hardest, and the most gallant race under the sun.'

The old civilisation had its defects, but it had in it noble elements fitted to expand and develop along lines suited to the national spirit, the racial temperament, and the country's requirements. But the change came. At first it was slow and gradual; then swift and sharp. Its motive power was speculative commercialism. We agree with Skene who said: 'Experience has not justified the policy of this change.' But having come, wisdom and magnanimity might surely have controlled its guidance. For if the Commissioners on Forfeited Estates, instead of pocketing or wasting on themselves £84,936, and spending £50,000 on the Record Office in Edinburgh, £25,000 on the Leith Harbour, £50,000 on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and £1000 on a jail at Inverness, had suggested to the legislature to place upon the land the men who loved their land, and fought and bled for it, with fixity of tenure, or as peasant proprietors, and with these moneys secured stock and agricultural implements for them, how much misery might have been averted, and how many generations of Highland sons and daughters would have risen up in our now desolate straths and glens and called them blessed!

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(Continued from vol. ix. p. 309)

GAELIC TEXT

¹ ACUS ni ba setrech do chomorad cluichi chest na curaoid is an uair sin, cein mata ² Capaneus ro bai 'na ³ stuaig bodba aduathmair urbada aca iarraid bar na sluagaib nech dib d'ergi na agaid, 7 a ⁴ lamanda tarbda ⁵ tachair im a lamaib, co mellaib ro fhada a cennaib a mer, co mellaib lan-troma luaidi uar a cendaib seic, ⁶ 7 is ed ro raid: 'Ticed oen loech uaib, a fhiru,' ar se, 'am agaiti ⁷ don cluichi cest. Acus ro bod maith lim co mad thren-fer do Tiauandaib tised ann, uair ro faethsad lim-sa h-e is in n-uair-sea.'

Ba socht mor re Grecaib sin, 7 ro gob urecla adbul iad remi, 7 gidead do ⁸ erich loech ⁹ lan-oc do Lacondaib da indsaigid .i. Alcidamas. Ba machtad ⁹ tra re Grecaib ¹⁰ ergi do, ¹¹ uair ba h-oc ¹² ara in aisi ¹² ger ua athlom n-engnoma. Acus ba h-e Pollux ua h-aeiti ¹³ engnoma 7 cluichi

Fol 15a 2. cest don gilla sin.

O d'chondaire Capaneus cuci h-e ro ches ¹⁴ air co mor, 7 ro bai ac faithfed 7 ac fochuidmed immi, 7 ac iarraid fhir aili mar aen ris 'na agaid. Nir ¹⁵ timi nar ¹⁶ teichead do chuaid d'Alcidamas sin, acht ro comfergaid co fersech 7 co fir-cruaid in n-agaid Capaneus, co ro thogbadar na lama lan-chalma amail saeignena suaichinti ¹⁷ solusda do comamus cuirp araili. Ba h-e calma ¹⁸ re Grecaib bas d'agbail don maccaem da ¹⁹ Alcidamus and sin, uair ua h-adbul met

¹ The Nemæan Games continued—THE BOXING MATCH.

² motha.

³ ina.

⁴ Eg. omits.

⁵ tarba.

⁶ sin.

⁷ aiged

⁸ ro.

⁹ machtnamh.

¹⁰ Eg. adds a.

¹¹ Eg. omits.

¹²⁻¹² ar n-ais.

¹³ aidi.

¹⁴ ceis.

¹⁵ ni ar

¹⁶ naar.

¹⁷ suaichinta.

¹⁸ hecail.

¹⁹ Eg. omits.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

¹ NONE of the champions were on that occasion eager to play the boxing game save only Capaneus. He stood forth a fierce, terrible, dreadful arch calling on the hosts to put one forward to face him. His strong boxing gloves were fastened on his hands, with (very long straps of bull's hide) on the fingers and very heavy balls of lead fixed to their ends ; and thus he spoke : ' Men, let one champion of you,' said he, ' stand up against me in a boxing match. And I would it were a mighty Theban that would step forward, for he would be felled by me at this moment.'

The Greeks were stupefied at this challenge ; they were mightily terrified at the man. Nevertheless a very young champion of Laconia, Alcidas, stood forth. Now the Greeks were amazed at this, for he was young in years, although agile and skilful. Pollux moreover was the tutor of the youth in athletics and boxing.

When Capaneus saw him approach he despised him greatly ; he was laughing and jeering at him, and asking that another should come along with him to fight him. Alcidas was in no wise frightened or dismayed thereat, but his wrath rose hotly and sternly against Capaneus. Both raised their strong hands like conspicuous, bright thunderbolts to hit the bodies of each other. The Greeks deemed it the reverse of chivalrous that the fair youth Alcidas should come by his death thus, for vast was the bulk and

¹ Th., vi. 731.

7 miri ¹ in miled ro bai in a agaid .i. Capaneus. Uair nir commor coraid ar talmain ris in tren fer sin.

Ro bai tra Alcidas co feithmech fir-glice ac a (f)rith-alam. Ro opair-som imorro ² co h-aegarb 7 co h-anacarach in maccoem, 7 ru-s-timchill amail timchillis feith fidu, no amail timchillis tond mara mor adbail cairrgi cuain 7 calaig. Ro (f)reastail 7 ro (f)rithoil Alcidas sin, 7 ni teiged bem i ³ dilsí na 'n dilmaine uad gan a ⁴ buain do Chapaneus i cleithi i chind 7 dar tulphort a gnuisi, coma forderg fuiligi a folt 7 a aiged. Is and sin ro dasachtaiged im Capaneus amail leoman lond letartha,⁵ 7 ⁶ ro gob ac tuirnim 7 ac trascrad Alcidas o brath builleadaib mora mileta. Ba dimain am dosum sin, uair ro imdeagail Alcidas h-e co na ruacht lot no lan-brised fair. Acus ro uadar amlaid sin re re ciana ⁷ co ro thuitset ar an gluinib caema comfiliti re scis an imbuailti.

Acus gided ro erich cach dib a ris ⁸ do chum ⁸ a cheli, 7 ac ergi doib tue Alcidas bem ceisti do Chapaneus co ⁹ torchair 7 cleithi a chend mullaich remi chum lair 7 lant-alman, 7 ¹⁰ ag eri do ¹⁰ ro athbuail a ris e co ru ¹¹ nuallsad na sluaig ac (f)aicsin in gnima sin. Ro aitherig imorro Capaneus co h-acarb aduathmar ¹² da digail sin ar Al(c)idas. ¹³ Et o to thondaire ¹³ Adraist an ní sin, is ed ro raid: 'A fhiru,' ar se, 'edardelaigter lib na milid ra suara ¹⁴ faeth nechtar dib reroili in n-ecomlaid, 7 tabar lib seoit 7 maine do Capaneus do thairmesc a fergi.' Ro ergedar and sin da n-dedail Tid 7 Ipomedon. Ua doilig am etarsearad na desi sin re med na fergi fir-moiri ro fobair intib.

Acus ro raidsed ¹⁵-sum re Capaneus: 'Tairind t' (fh)eirg,' ar siad, 'a ri, 7 tabair maithem n-anocail uaid don gilla oc-sa, uair is lindi luamaireacht in laich-sea.¹⁶ Nir

Fol 15b 1. (f)aem thra Capaneus, 7 is ed ró raid: 'A fhiru,' ar se, 'cindus leicfet uaim in gilla n-oc ¹⁷ ro imir imned 7 edualand

¹ mire.

² tra.

³ an.

⁴ Eg. omits.

⁵ letartha.

⁶ Eg. omits.

⁷ cian.

⁸⁻⁸ ar.

⁹ gur.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ Eg. omits.

¹¹ gur.

¹² aduathmar.

¹³⁻¹³ O'd'chondairc.

¹⁴ síu do.

¹⁵ raidsit.

¹⁶ sin.

¹⁷ occ-sa.

(great) the fury of the warrior who encountered him, a champion whose match in strength was not in the world.

But Alcidamus opposed him warily, very skilfully. Capaneus on the other hand attacked the youth fiercely and savagely; he circled round him as a bird of prey wheels round the woods, or as a huge ocean wave encircles the rocks of harbours and shelters. Alcidamus successfully resisted these onsets. Nor did he give a blow with force and intent which did not hit Capaneus in the crown of his head or the front of his face, so that his hair and face were all red and bloody. Capaneus was maddened thereat like a furious, mangling lion, and he began to ply his heavy, warriorlike, destructive blows against Alcidamus to fell and prostrate him. But in vain, for Alcidamus warded them off so that he was neither wounded nor seriously hurt. They fought thus for a long time until at last both fell on their fair bended knees through exhaustion with hard fighting.

Nevertheless, each of them rose afresh to attack the other, and as they did so Alcidamus struck Capaneus a blow which threw him to the ground and earth, head foremost; and as he attempted to rise again he received another. The hosts shouted when they saw that feat. But Capaneus rose again fiercely, terribly to avenge that (blow) upon Alcidamus.¹ When Adrastus saw that, he spoke thus: 'Men,' said he, 'part the warriors before either of them is thrown by the other in unequal conflict, and carry with you jewels and wealth for Capaneus to appease his wrath.' Tydeus and Hippomedon went at once to separate them. It was in sooth difficult to do so, because of the very great wrath which possessed them.

The (peacemakers) said to Capaneus: 'Allay your anger,' said they, 'O king, and give quarter to this youth, for this hero's career is our concern.' Capaneus consented not, and thus he spoke: 'Men,' said he, 'how can I part

¹ Across the top margin of fol. 15, b 1-2, is the note: Is maith an beim ceast sin do buail Ailcidamus ar Chapanebhus mōr mac Tairsis gan bhuidheacus do fen, 'That was a goodly blow which A. gave to big C., son of T., without benefit to himself.

orum gan a mor¹ digail air.' Et² gided rucsad a munter les h-e, 7 ro deligised iad amlaid sin. Acus³ ro uadar munter Alcidas ac genaib gaire im Capaneus.

⁴ Acus o thairnic in cluichi sin ro erig Tit mac Oeniusa 7 ro fuacair carraigeacht 7 comglic and sin uar na sluagaib, 7 is e ro erig do indsaigid Agilaus mac Ercail, 7 ba medithir re h-Arcail mac Ampitrión ar met 7 ar mesnig in milid sin, uair ba da sil do. Tid imorro is amlaid ro bui seic⁵—fer isel, tailc, tarbda, tren, calma, athlom, ocla, anacarach.⁶ Ua tren 7 ua tarcaisnech⁷ ar gach n-sen tecmad ris. Acus ro gobad⁸ ola chom(sh)lemun cumasda da churp is in n-uair sin, 7 ro erig do chum Agileus.

Is and sin ro iad cach dib⁹ a lama 7 a rigthi dar araili, coma samalta re seol-crand prim luingi moiri no re ralaig ro aird os min-crandaib fir-beca fidbaidi Agileus os cind Tit and sin ac a thairnim¹⁰ 7 'g a trasrad. Acus ger ua lugu Tit ua tendi¹¹ 7 ua talchairi e¹² is in n-uair sin, co ro timsaig 7 co ro thimaig Ageus, 7 co ro trascair do chum lair 7 lan talman. Ro cengail 7 ro cuibrig 'na diaid sin i fiad-naisi na n-Grec¹³ h-e, 7 tucad aisceada¹⁴ comartha a¹⁵ choscair do.

Ar sin ro bui ac braisi 7 ac bocasaich uasa cind 7 tue da muinte iad. Acus ar n-ergi do Agille(i)us co h-oband mertnech as a chengail tue Adraist luirig n-imthruim n-iaraind do log a cluichi do commorad.

Et¹⁶ as ahaithli sin ro ergedar dias dib do cluichi d'armaib aithgera urnochta, .i. Agresius mac Epidaur 7 Polinices mac Eidip. Ro thairmisc imorro in t-aird-ri Adraist iad, 7 is ed ro raid: 'Na denaid cathugud, a fhiru,' ar se, 'cein no co rosti tachur na Tebi, uair do gebthai uar n-daithin¹⁷ cathaigthi 7 comlaind inti.' Acus ro thair-miscad iad amlaid sin.

¹ Eg. omits.² Eg. omits.³ Eg. omits.⁴ THE WRESTLING MATCH.⁵ sin .i.⁶ anacarrtach.⁷ tarscaisnech.⁸ gob.⁹ Eg. omits.¹⁰ thairnedh.¹¹ teinne.¹² Eg. omits.¹³ Eg. adds uilidh.¹⁴ Eg. adds a.¹⁵ Eg. omits.¹⁶ Eg. omits.¹⁷ daothin.

from this youth who has wrought this injury and suffering upon me without exacting full vengeance.' Nevertheless his people carried him away, and they were thus parted. Alcidas's folk were jeering at Capaneus's (discomfiture).

¹ When this contest ended Tydeus son of Oenius stood up and challenged the hosts to a wrestling match. The man who accepted the challenge was Agylleus son of Hercules. In size and courage that warrior was the equal of Hercules son of Amphytrion, of whose blood he was. Tydeus on the other hand was a low, thick-set man, stout, strong, brave, active, resolute, unyielding. He was haughty and contemptuous towards all who opposed him. And now he smeared his body with lubricating mixed oil, and rose to face Agylleus.

Each of them entwined his hands and arms round the other. Like the mast of a great huge ship, or like a very tall oak above the small trees of the forest, towered Agylleus over Tydeus as he tugged and strained at the latter. But though Tydeus was shorter he was at the same more compact and sturdier. He gripped and pulled Agylleus to him and flung him flat on the ground and solid earth. He bound and fettered him thereafter in sight of the Greeks. Gifts in token of his victory were awarded to him.

Tydeus was boasting and bragging about these, and gave them to his servants. When Agylleus suddenly but depressed released himself from his bonds, Adrastus gave him a very heavy iron hauberk in reward for the game which he played.

² Thereafter stood up two champions to fight with very sharp, bare weapons, Agreus from Epidaurus and Polinices son of Oedipus. But Adrastus the high king forbade them and spoke thus: 'Do not fight, champions,' said he, 'until you reach the fight against the Theban. You will find a full surfeit of contest and conflict there.' Thus they were restrained.

¹ Th., vi. 826.

Th., vi. 911.

¹ Is and sin adubradar ² airig na n-Grec ² ris in n-aird-rig re h-Adraist a chuid do na cluichib do denam, ³ comad moidi onoir ind n-adnocail. ⁴ 'Dogenbar,' ar se, 7 ro erig. ⁵ Is e ni doronni, ro dibraic saigid a fidbaic ibraide ⁶ co setrech sir chalma co n-deachaid uad re h-ed, 7 amail ba tresi di ac dul ro impo ⁷ co h-athlum opund ar culu d'ind saigid in rig ru-s-telg. Et ⁸ ba fidgrad ⁹ faistine acu-sum sin, uair is ed Fol. 15b2. ro thuiced as a ¹⁰ sin Adraist a oenur do ternum a cathugud ¹¹ na Tebi 7 a ¹² rochtain ar culu co crichaib Grec.

Conid cainiud Airsemaris 7 a cluicheda cainteacha conigi sin.

O tarnic tra in cluichi cainteach ¹³ sin ro doirt Adraist fin ar an adnocol, 7 ro bui ac molad in gilla amal dea uasal adartha, 7 is ed ro raid: 'A mic,' ar se, 'dogentar amal so idbarta ac Grecaib uili gacha bliadna duid-seo, ¹⁴ 7 da taet lind i tigi na Tébi tre t' ¹⁵ cumacht-su ¹⁶ bidid ¹⁷ mo h-onoir ¹⁸ idbarta a ris acaindi.' Acus is ed sin ba h-aíl do Grecaib uili da rad.

As i sin ¹⁹ imorro aes 7 uair ¹⁹ do bi imshnim mor ar men-main Ioib mic Satrainn, uair ²⁰ fada le-sum comnaigi nan ²¹ Grec in ingnais in chatha. Acus ²¹ is and sin tucad a mac .i. Mearcur, do chum Ioib, 7 is ed ro raid ris: 'Erig,' ar se, 'd'indsaigid Mairt, dei in chatha, 7 abair ris na Greic ²² d'adandad do chum in chatha.' Acus ro erig Mearcur, 7 do siacht co tigib seselbacha Mairt mic ²³ Ioib dea na cath 7 na congal, 7 raid ris ²⁴ na Greic ²⁵ 7 na Tiabanda do chur a cend a chele.

Ro erig tra Mairt la sin n-gresacht sin 7 tanic remi dar trachtaib traga Eip co mullach slebi a Corintus iter in muir n-iond iar n-airthiur 7 muir n-Eig ar n-iarthiur. Ro scail uad and sin ecla 7 aduath, ²⁶ ferg 7 fuasnad ba sluagaib

¹ KING ADRASTUS'S PART IN THE NEMEAN GAMES.

²⁻² oirig na Grecl.

³ comoradh.

⁴ in adhnocail.

⁵ Eg. adds 7.

⁶ ibhraidhi.

⁷ impi.

⁸ Eg. omits.

⁹ fidradh.

¹⁰ Eg. omits.

¹¹ cathudh.

¹² Eg. omits.

¹³ caintecha.

¹⁴ si.

¹⁵ do.

¹⁶ si.

¹⁷ bid.

¹⁸ h-anoir.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ uair 7 ais umorru.

²⁰ Eg. adds ua.

²¹ Eg. omits.

²² Greclidh.

²³ Eg. omits.

²⁴ ráidhus.

²⁵ Greccidh.

²⁶ adfhuath.

¹ Then the chiefs of the Greeks requested Adrastus the high king to take his share in the games and thus enhance the glory of the celebrations. 'It will be done,' said he, and he stood up. What he did was to shoot an arrow from a quiver of yew with great force and spirit. It sped a great distance, and with the same force with which it went, it returned back again suddenly, quickly to the king who shot it. This was to them a prophetic premonition. They understood from it that Adrastus would be the only one to come scatheless out of the Theban war, and to return again to the lands of Greece.

The mourning for Archemorus and the funeral games held in his honour thus far.

² Now when the funeral games were concluded, Adrastus poured wine upon the burial (mound), and he praised the lad as if he were a noble, adorable god, and spoke thus: 'Boy,' said he, 'all the Greeks will make sacrifices like these to you yearly. And if through your power the houses of Thebes fall by our efforts, greater sacrifices than these will be made by us.' And this is what all the Greeks wished to say.

³ This was the time and hour that Jove son of Saturn was greatly disturbed in mind, for he felt the delay of the Greeks from the war irksome. And so his son Mercury was brought to Jove, who addressed him thus: 'Go,' said he, 'to Mars the god of war, and tell him to hurry on the Greeks to the war.' Mercury went and arrived at the noisy mansions of Mars son of Jove, the god of war and conflict, and told him to set the Greeks and Thebans at each other.

⁴ Now Mars went at this injunction and fared forth over the strands of the beach of Ephryra to the top of the hill Acrocorinthus between the white sea on the east, and the Aegean sea on the west. And thence he spread broadcast through the Grecian hosts Fear and Horror, Wrath, and Fury,

¹ Th., vi. 924.

³ Th., vii. 1.

² Th., vii. 90-104.

⁴ Th., vii. 105.

Grec, co ro lingsedar menmandar ris in fogur bres¹ adchualadar i firmamint uas a cind, 7 ris in scel n-aduathmar² n-urbadach sin. Acus ro craith a slega 7 a sceith, 7 ro trenbuail a eocho uas cind na sluag, cor gab saint 7 ailgius catha 7 comlaind na curaid is in n-uair sin ris in n-gresacht 7 ris in laidiud³ sin tue Mairt mac Ioib forru.

O t' chondaire imorro Baich mac Ioib, dei in n-ina, na Greic⁴ 'n am buidnib deg (s)luaig⁵ a comlugad do chum na Tebi tucad⁶ iachtad⁷ 7 osnaid moir os aird 7 tanie remi d'indsaig a athar .i. Ioib, 7 ro loig⁸ in a fhiadnaisi, 7 da⁹ bui ac iarraid fortachta do na Tiabandaib air,¹⁰ 7 is ed ro raid: 'Is ole a n-denad,'¹¹ ar se, 'a Ioib, comorad catha i cend na Tiauanda, 7 a tir do thogail forru. Acus do berisiu¹² do gach dei aili comairei in chiniuda is dual do, 7 ni thabraid dam-sa, uair is i Simile, ingen rig na Tebi, mo mathair,¹³ 7¹⁴ da etar¹⁴ is i Iunaind ilcrothach do beir ort-su in aimleas ar in fath sin.'

Fol. 16a 1. O t' chualaigh Ioib sin ro tib a gin¹⁵ n-gairi ma mac, 7 ro thabradar poice do, 7 adbert ris: 'A Mhic,' ar se, 'ni fich na ferg do beir orum comorad in chatha-sa, acht¹⁶ ro chindsead faidi 7 fisid o thus domuin co curfithea¹⁷ in cath croda-sa na Tebi. Acus na bid ecla ort-su, a Baich, togail na Tebi don chath-sa. Acus¹⁸ amae dlestis¹⁸ a n-ole¹⁹ do denam, uair is adbul a n-ecoiri.' Ba forbailig Baich do na scealaib sin. A n-dala-sum co ruigi sin.

Dala imorro na Tiauanda. Rainic techtairi tairisi da muntir co h-Echiocles co rig²⁰ na Tebi, 7 ro indis do rigrad na n-Grec²¹ co n-a sluagaib 7 co n-a socraitib i comfocus do muigib tond-glasa na Tebi. Ba truag imorro 7 ba tindes ris na Tiauandaib in gach in inad a robadar na sceala aidbli sin do cloistecht. Is and sin tra ro thinoilit do chum Ethiocles a sluaig 7 a sochraidi 7 a shuind chatha 7 a fhuird²² irgaili co faichthi fond-glais a duin²³ 7 a cathrach.

¹ bresnaidm.² n-adfhuathmar.³ laighedh.⁴ Grecidhi.⁵ (s)luag.⁶ tuc.⁷ iachtnadh.⁸ luigh.⁹ ro.¹⁰ fair.¹¹ denaidh.¹² beridh-siu.¹³ mathair-si.¹⁴⁻¹⁴ fetar-sa.¹⁵ gen.¹⁶ Eg. adds is ed.¹⁷ curfedea.¹⁸⁻¹⁸ Is maith do dlisfidh.¹⁹ uile.²⁰ ri.²¹ Greci.²² an urridhi.²³ dhain.

so that their minds were filled with the crashing sound they heard in the sky above them, and with the terrible tidings of danger which they had heard. He shook his spears and shields, and vigorously lashed his steeds above the heads of the hosts, so that ardour and lust for battle and conflict forthwith took possession of the champions through the urging and pressing of Mars, the son of Jupiter, upon them.

¹ Now when Bacchus, son of Jove, the god of wine, saw the Greeks marching in well-ordered battalions to Thebes he yelled and groaned aloud, and went forward to his father Jove and prostrated himself before him. He besought aid for the Thebans and spoke thus: 'You are doing ill,' said he, 'to promote war against the Thebans, and to destroy their country. Besides you give to every other god the protection of his native race; and you deny this right to me, although Semele the daughter of the king of Thebes was my mother. But I know that it was the beautiful Juno for that very reason who moved you to inflict this wrong upon me.'

When Jove heard this he smiled upon his son, kissed him, and said: 'Son,' said he, 'neither feud nor wrath has caused me to promote this war. But prophets and seers from the beginning of the world have decreed that this bloody Theban war should be waged. But do not fear, Bacchus, that Thebes will be destroyed in this war; and yet, O son, it is right that the people should be punished, for their sins are very great.' Bacchus rejoiced greatly at these tidings. Thus far their affairs.

² But as to the Thebans. A trustworthy messenger of his own household went to Eteocles, King of Thebes, and told him that the Kings of Greece with their hosts and multitudes were approaching the green-surfaced plains of Thebes. Now the Thebans everywhere heard these terrible tidings with grief and despondency. Then were gathered to Eteocles his hosts and multitudes and stout men of war and chiefs of conflict to the green lawn of his castle and city.

¹ Th., vii. 145.

² Th., vii. 227.

Tochestul 7 *tinol* na *Tiabanda* and so.

Et ¹ desig ² and sin ² each drem deg sluaig ³ ma thriath 7 ³ ma ⁴ tigerna do neach thanic a h-Eonia 7 a h-Eobia 7 a Pótcis 7 a cathrachaib na Tiauanda ar cheana.

Ro ergestar imorro mna 7 micain ⁵ 7 min daine 7 ro linsadar ⁶ muir na cathrach 7 dumacha aili ⁷ airechtais ac fegad in t-sluaig sin. Is ann ⁸ dano ⁹ ro bui ¹⁰ in n-og ilchrothach .i. Antigone, deirb fiur Etiocles 7 Polinices, i tur ro ard, ro mor, sel o mur na cathrach sin a mach. Uair is ed ba bes acu-sum gan sluaig 7 gan sochaidi do fhaicsin a n-ingen no faeitis ¹¹ re feraib. Acus ba ler di-si and sin tochim na sluag uaithi, uar ni faicthi 7 ni ba ler daib-sium isi. Acus as e ro bi 'na farrad and sin ¹² Phorfas foirfi ¹² fireolach .i. fer grada a h-athar 7 a seanathar e-seom 7 a a h-oiti.

Acus ¹³ ro gob si 'g a fhiarfaigi de 'cia in sluag ro mor-sa itir,' ar si, '7 atchim-sea,' ar si, 'mergda ¹⁴ nim -glana ¹⁵ Meinidceus corcar-gloin 7 airm croda Creooín ¹⁶ coscraig.' Ro recair imorro Porfas disí, 7 is ed ro raid: 'In ¹⁷ faicend tu and,' ar se, 'Drias a tulchaib taeb-(f)uara Tanacra a tuaid o'n Uarda ¹⁸ 7 ¹⁹ mili saegdech ¹⁹ 'na farrad, 7 in faicend tu ua do Nephtiuin and 7 delb ael ar a armaib? Atat ann sud i sochraidi Ethiocles curaid na cathrach Ochalia 7 milig ²⁰ mera Médona 7 gaiscedaig nua-glana Nisa 7 tren-fhir thalchara Thispe agruin, 7 is e is nesu doib sin Eurimedon croda coscorach mac Fanuus dea ²¹ na coillted. Acus is e fhoires 7 aircchises ²² each gabad coilled. Acus sluaig saidbri sonaidi Erithra mar aen ris, 7 na sluaig tangadar a Colon ciuitas 7 a h-Etamon agruin 7 a h-Elis ciuitas 7 a Sciroin

Fol. 16a 2. agruin, 7 gae gera guinecha 7 sceith cruindi cabracha leo sin. Acus ata and dano ²³ airechta Anchesta agruin do sil Nephtuin dei in mara, 7 is e Neptuin garbas 7 fethnaiges ²⁴ i

¹ Eg. omits.

²⁻² Eg. omits.

³⁻³ Eg. omits.

⁴ uma.

⁶ macain.

⁶ linatar.

⁷ ailli.

⁸ Eg. adds sin.

⁹ MS. l.

¹⁰ luid.

¹¹ faetidís.

¹²⁻¹² Porfas foirbhfhí.

¹³ Eg. omits.

¹⁴ mergedha.

¹⁵ niam.

¹⁶ Creone.

¹⁷ An.

¹⁸ fuarda

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ míledha saegdecha.

²⁰ míledha.

²¹ dei.

²² oirisises.

²³ MS. l.

²⁴ fethídhíus.

The muster and marshalling of the Thebans here.

Then each stout troop gathered around its own prince and lord, those who came from Aonia and Euboea, and Phocis, and the other cities of Thebes.

The women, and boys and children also crowded upon the ramparts of the city, and upon other heights of the capital to view the hosts. There was, besides, the beautiful maid Antigone very sister of Eteocles and Polinices in a very high large tower, a space outside the wall of the city. For it was a custom of theirs that their maidens must not be seen by hosts or multitudes until they were wedded to men. She could see from there the march of the hosts past her, although they could not behold or see her. Her attendant there was Phorbas, old and very learned, a devoted follower of her father and grandfather, and her own tutor.

She kept asking him : ' What in the world is this very great host ? ' asked she. ' For I see,' added she, ' the white banners of the ruddy Menoeceus, and the brave arms of the victorious Creon.'

Then Phorbas answered her and spoke as follows : ' Do you see among them,' said he, ' Dryas from the cold-sided knolls of Tanagrae in the northern land of cold, with a thousand archers in his train ? And see you a grandson of Neptune there, with weapons white as lime ? Yonder among the troops of Eteocles are the champions of the city Ocalea, and the high-spirited warriors of Medeon, and the bright-fresh heroes of Nysa, and the stout and sturdy men of strong Thisbe.¹ Next to these is the brave, victorious Eurymedon, son of Faunus, the god of the woods (he it is who succours and protects from all perils in forest), with the wealthy and prosperous people of Erythrae accompanying him ; and the troops from the city Scolos and from the fort Eteonos,¹ and from the city Hyle, and from the fort Schoenos.¹ These carry

¹ The Gaelic Redactor evidently meant by *agruin* of the Gaelic text some kind of city different from *civitas*. Does the word connect with *ἄκρος*, *ἄκρον*, and does it mean 'strong' and 'fortified' ?

muir n-aduar¹ n-ainfenach.² Acus atait and na³ fir bit⁴ Megalis i coicrich⁵ na Greci 7 na Tiauanda, 7 ba⁶ sruth Melais 7 ba⁶ thobar n-Gargais⁷ .i. tobar mirbulta, 7 ba⁶ sruth Alietis. Tamuin cruaidi chend-troma ba h-airm doib sin, 7 craicind lan-garba leoman ba cathbarr ma⁸ cendaib, 7 cliatha cruaidi cranda ba sceith daib. Acus atat airechta slebe Elcona o sruth o Permeisus⁹ .i. sruth ata ac sliab Ailip i¹⁰ tuaiscert na Tiauanda, 7 o sruth Armeus. Acus ua cruitireda ceol-bindi na curaid sin uili o na mofisib .i. dei¹¹ in bindisa.'

Acus o ra raid Porfas na briathra sin 7 tue na tuarascbala sin ar na sluagaib, ro labair Antigone 7 is ed ro raid: 'Is mor am,' ar si, 'cosmailius na desi sin der-brathar ut adciam uaind¹² iter na sluagaib, uair is atcaema comarda iter arm 7 etach. Acus ro pad¹³ maith¹⁴ lim,' ar si, da mad iter adam der-brathair¹⁴ fein do beth in cumand ut.' 'A ingen am,' ar Porfas, 'ni tusa cet duine ro raid sin riu, uair is (s)ochaide¹⁵ adubairt riu conod brathair¹⁶ iat cen go bed. Uair is e athair in dara fir dib¹⁷ aroili. Acus is amlaid do ronad,¹⁸ sin: Nipe bean do Laifteodaib ro chomroic re maccaem n-og .i. ¹⁹Lapitus a ainm.²⁰ Acus nir comraic re mnai riam romi, 7²¹ do na²¹ tanic d'aes²² a denam. Acus ba h-in(gn)am²³ comperta di. Acus darala Alatrius di don toirrches (s)in. Acus o ra tuismed in mac sin,²⁴ 7²⁵ ba gairit co ma²⁵ co mor comdelba re athair h-e. Acus as iad in dias ud ro mothaigisiu²⁶ in mac sin 7 in t-athair .i. Lafitus 7 Altrius a mac. Acus tri cet marcach²⁷ sochraidi each fhir dib is in tinol-sa, a Clissanta 7 a Coriona. Ata dano²⁸ ann Ipseus mac Assopos²⁹ ri thuath tuaiscert na Tiabanda, 7 carpat caem ceith³⁰ riada fae, 7 sciath suaice sar-ceangailti do sechedaib

¹ adfuair.² ainbfenach.³ Eg. omits.⁴ Eg. adds a.⁵ coicrich.⁶ fo.⁷ Goirccius.⁸ fo.⁹ Permessus.¹⁰ a.¹¹ dee.¹² uaim.¹³ bad.¹⁴⁻¹⁴ damh da mad iter adam braitir.¹⁵ sochúidi.¹⁶ braitra.¹⁷ Eg. omits.¹⁸ raid.¹⁹ Eg. omits.²⁰ Eg. adds in mic.²¹⁻²¹ ni.²² Eg. adds do.²³ h-ingnadh.²⁴ Eg. omits.²⁵⁻²⁵ nir ba cian cor uo.²⁶ -sium.²⁷ curadh.²⁸ MS. I.²⁹ Asopaiss.³⁰ ceitre.

sharp, piercing javelins and round shields made of strong boards. There are besides the hordes of the fort Onchestus.¹ They are of the race of the god of the sea, Neptune, who causes the very cold, tempestuous sea to rage and to calm down again. There are also the inhabitants of Mycalessos which borders on Greece and Thebes, and the dwellers round the stream Melas, and around the marvellous spring of Gargaphye, and by the stream of Haliartos(?). Hard, heavy-headed trunks (of trees) are the weapons of these, with very rough skins of lions round their heads for helmets, and hard branches of trees for shields. There are there troops from the Mount Helicon(?), and from the stream Parmessus, a stream by Mount Ailiip(?) in the north of Theban territory, and from the river Olmius. All these champions are sweet harpists inheriting from the Muses, the goddesses of melody.'

When Phorbas ceased speaking and describing the hosts, Antigone spoke, and this is what she said: 'Great indeed is the likeness between the two brothers I see yonder in the distance among the troops; very fair are they, and alike in arms and dress. I would,' added she, 'that my own two brothers were on such friendly terms as these.' 'Maiden,' said Phorbas, 'you are not, in truth, the first who described these two thus, for many have regarded them brothers though they are not so. One of them is the father of the other, and thus it happened. Nipe,² a woman of the Lapithae, embraced a young boy of the name of Lapitus who had not arrived at the age of puberty. From this commerce was begotten Alatreus, who in a short time attained to the stature and figure of his father; and the two whom you observe yonder are that son and father, Lapitus and Alatreus. Each of them brings three hundred gallant

¹ See footnote, p. 35.

² Th., vii. 297:—

. . . puerum Lapithaona nymphe
Dercetis expertem thalami crudumque maritis
ignibus ante diem cupido violavit amore
improba conubii.

The Gaelic Redactor seems to have taken *nymphe*, which he renders *Nipe*, as the name of the woman, and to have ignored the real name *Dercetis* entirely.

glaeta ¹ glo leathair ar a muin, 7 luireach trebraid tre-
 fhillti ma ² corp, 7 gae remur ro fhata do na tabair urchur
 d' ³ imroill ina laim. Acus ata sochraidi mor maraen ⁴ ris sin
 do neoch thanic a h-Iton 7 a h-Acamena a Midaefesaid ⁵
 mor 7 a h-Aulis, ⁶ a Grea 7 a Platea ⁷ 7 a h-Andtegon, ⁸
 7 mill lan-mora luaidi ro dibraicdis ⁹ a tulaib ¹⁰ tren-amais
 na fir sin. Acus nim tualaing-sea tra,' ar se, 'aireom ¹¹
 ina tanic sund do slogaib athloma examla a h-ilchathrachaib
 na Tiauanda aróen re h-Ipitus n-arnaid n-aduathmor ¹²
 mac Naupulus .i. urri na cathrach medonda na Tiauanda.

Fol. 16b 1. Acus imscith mo roisc, ¹³ 7 ro comleath ¹⁴ ceo crine ¹⁵ thairsib
 ac tuream ¹⁶ na slog, 7 nim tualaing a ¹⁷ inndsín inas ¹⁷ mo,
 a ingen,' ar se.

As aithli sin ro erig Ethiocles, rig na Tebi, ar mur a
 chathrach ¹⁸ d'acallaim a sluaig 7 a sochraidi 7 is ed ¹⁹ ro raid
 riu: 'A rigú ²⁰ maithi, mor-menmnacha,' ar se, 'ni misi
 tendas na tindснаiges sib do chum in chathaighi-sea,' ²¹
 acht bar m-baig ²² 7 ar m-beodacht fen; 7 bid amcubaid
 sealad ²³ lib i cosnum uar ²⁴ cathrach 7 uar ²⁴ tiri.' Acus is
 amluid ro bui 'g a rad ²⁵ sin 7 tuc achmosana imda da brathair
 .i. do Polinices mar na ²⁶ beth ina fiadnaisi. Acus ro ordaich
 lucht a ²⁷ cometa ac din a coiten ²⁷ na cathrach 7 a gabail
 in mur, 7 ro ordaich curada, ²⁸ croda re cathugud in n-agaid
 gaiscedach Grec a muich ²⁹ nechtair. Dala na Tiauannda
 conigi sin.

¹ glaetha.² ua.³ n-.⁴ foraen.⁵ Midaefessann.⁶ Ailis.⁷ Plaetae.⁸ Andgegon.⁹ dibrucud.¹⁰ tulchaibh.¹¹ airim.¹² n-adfhuaire.¹³ rusc.¹⁴ coimleth.¹⁵ críne.¹⁶ turim.¹⁷⁻¹⁷ innisin nis.¹⁸ na cathrach.¹⁹ Eg. adds so.²⁰ riga.²¹ si.²² baidh.²³ si.²⁴ far.²⁵ rada.²⁶ do.²⁷⁻²⁷ coimeta ac din 7 ac didn.²⁸ curaidh.²⁹ Eg. adds a.

horsemen to this muster from Glisa and Corona. There also is Hypseus son of Asopos, king of the northern tribes of Thebes. He rides in a four-wheeled chariot, with a beautiful strongly-fastened shield of polished hides glued together, on his back; and a hauberk well fitting and triple-plyed protecting his body; and a thick, very long javelin which never misses its mark in his hand. Multitudes accompany that (warrior), who have come from Itone and Alalcomenis, and the great Midea . . . and Aulis, and Graea, and Plataea, and Authedon. These men carry huge balls of lead which they hurl with sure aim at the foreheads (of their opponents). 'But I am unable,' continued he, 'to number the agile, diverse hosts who have come thither from the many cities of Thebes along with the merciless, terrible Iphitus son of Naubolus, viz. the chiefs of the central cities of Theban lands. My eyes are worn out and the mist of old age has spread over them while recounting the hosts. And I am unable to relate further, maiden,' concluded he.

Thereafter, Eteocles, King of Thebes, proceeded to the rampart of his capital to address his hosts and troops, and thus spoke to them: 'Excellent and magnanimous princes,' said he, 'it is not I who have pressed and urged you to this war, but your own devotion and courage. You will for a season undergo discomfort in defending your city and country.' And as he spoke thus, he heaped great reproaches upon his brother Polinices as though he were present there. Then he ordered his bodyguards to protect and defend the city, and to man the walls, and he appointed brave champions to fight outside the city against the heroes of Greece. The proceedings of the Thebans thus far.

GRAZING AND AGRESTIC CUSTOMS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES

BY ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

THE following article was written for the Report of the Crofter Royal Commission of 1883-4 and has been published only in the Blue Book issued by the Commission, though a few copies were printed for private circulation. These copies have the following Prefatory Note:—

‘This paper was written at the request of Lord Napier and Ettrick for the Crofter Royal Commission, over which his Lordship presided. Government have courteously granted the writer permission to reprint a few copies to give to his friends.

‘Originally the paper was meant to contain some account of the geological changes and of the natural history and antiquities of the Outer Hebrides, but these not coming within the scope of the Commission Lord Napier found himself obliged to exclude them. The paper is hurried and fragmentary and contains but little of what ought to be said of the interesting people and customs of the Western Isles.

“The account of the old customs is the most interesting thing in your Report; the old hymns are charming.”—*Extract from Letter of a Nobleman in London to Lord Napier.*

Dr. Carmichael was many times asked to issue this article as a small book. He had it in his mind to do so and intended to add to it much of the matter which had to be withheld from the Report.

Geographical

The Long Island comprehends a series of islands 116 miles in length. The breadth varies from one mile to twenty-six miles.

In shape the Long Island resembles an artificial kite—Lewis being the body, and the disarticulated tail trending southward and terminating in Bearnarey of Barra.

A range of glaciated hills, rising from the centre of Lewis, and at intervals cut into by the Minch, runs along the east side of the islands. Along the west side, washed by the

Atlantic, is an irregular plain of sandy soil, locally called machair.

These islands are called the Outer Hebrides, being the most westerly islands of Scotland, except those of St. Kilda. They form a breakwater against the Atlantic, from Cape Wrath on the north to Ardnamurchan on the south.

The Outer Hebrides were of old called Innse Gall, the Isles of the Gall, the Isles of the Strangers, from the Norsemen who occupied them for over two hundred years.

The ancient name of the Long Island, and still traced among the people, was Innis Cat, the Island of the Cat, or Catti. Who the Catti were is uncertain, though probably they were the same people who gave the name of Cat Thaobh, Cat Side, to Sutherland, and Cat Nis, Cat Ness or Point, to Caithness. The modern Clan Chatan are considered to be of these people. They are called the descendants of the Cat or Catti, and have a cat for their crest.

The present inhabitants of the Long Island are essentially Celtic, with considerable infusion of Norse blood. They are a splendid race of people, probably unexcelled, mentally and physically, in the British Isles.

The populations of the different islands form an aggregate of over 40,000 souls. Of these, forty families occupy about two-thirds of the whole land of the islands, the numerous crofters occupying the other third. These crofters retain pastoral and agrestic modes of life, now obsolete elsewhere. To describe these modes of life is the object of this paper.

All the crofters throughout the Outer Hebrides occupy and work their lands on the run-rig system, more or less modified. They work under this system in three different modes, two of these being stages of decay. An example from each of these three modes will be given from each of three parishes where they are in operation. This the writer thinks is preferable to any general description which he could devise. These parishes are Barra, South Uist, and North Uist, which form the southern division of the Outer Hebrides.

It seems desirable first to explain certain words and phrases.

Run-Rig

The term run-rig seems a modification of the Gaelic, 'roinn ruith'—division run. In this case the word 'run' is used in the sense of common. In Gaelic the system of run-rig is usually spoken of as 'mor earann'—great division (or 'mor fhearann,' great land?). Occasionally, however, an old person calls the system 'roinn ruith.' This seems the correct designation and the origin of the English term run-rig.

The system of run-rig prevailed of old over the whole British Isles and the Continent of Europe. It was some generations ago common in Ireland, it has been longer extinct in England, and is now obsolete in Scotland except to a limited extent in the Western Isles.

Townland, Township

The English word township represents the Gaelic word *baile*, as applied to a rural locality and to a country community. I, however, prefer the word townland to township, and have already used it in the paper which Mr. Skene asked me to write for his *Celtic Scotland*, and which your Lordship was pleased to commend.

I believe the word townland is recognised by law. I have certainly seen it used in law documents.

The word *baile*, townland, often appears in *Origines Parochiales*, that invaluable work, compiled by Cosmo Innes from ancient charters and other historical documents affecting the Highlands, and it occurs also in Martin's *Western Isles*, published in 1703. Dr. Johnson says that it was this book that gave him a desire to see the Highlands of Scotland, and therefore to this book the world is indebted for Johnson's famous *Tour to the Hebrides*. A copy of Martin, which Johnson and Boswell had with them in the Highlands and Islands, the writer has seen in the Signet Library, Edinburgh.

The townland has a collective existence in various ways, —by tradition, by usage, by the condition of the people, by the consensus of public opinion, and by the treatment of the proprietor. I shall endeavour to show this, and in doing so shall confine my observations to the Long Island.

Maor

The word 'maor' is old, and is used in several languages. Before and after the tenth century it carried a territorial title equal to Baron among the Highlanders and to the Jarl of the Norwegians.

The name was then applied to the governor of a province, whose office was hereditary, like that of the king. The term maor is now applied to a petty officer only.

'Maor gruinn' is a ground officer. He is appointed by the factor—Gaelic, 'baillidh'—and acts under him. On large properties the maor is practically a sub-factor, and, being the eye, the ear, and the tongue of the factor in his district, he is often more feared than the factor himself. Where the factor is a non-Gaelic speaking man, as has frequently been the case on the Gordon properties, the people look on the maor with suspicion. 'The tongue of the people being then in another man's mouth,' as one of themselves graphically said to me, they know not what the maor says or leaves unsaid concerning them. Nevertheless, there are and have been ground-officers who were far from giving cause for such suspicion, who, on the contrary, devoted their time and energies to the interests of proprietor and people to the neglect of their own. Among these have been some of the kindest men I have ever known.

The Constable

There is a constable (Gaelic, constabal) in every town, and in some two—one representing the proprietor, the other the people. Occasionally the factor and the crofters elect the constable conjointly. More often, however, the factor alone appoints the constable. When this is the case, the

crofters murmur that the man thus appointed and paid by the factor alone is, unconsciously to himself probably, too subservient to the factor and too remiss in their concerns. For this reason they elect a man to look after their own special affairs.

When a constable is to be elected for the townland, the people meet, and this and all kindred meetings are called 'nabachd,' neighbourliness. If presided over by the maor the meeting is called 'mòd,' moot.

If the people meet during the day, they probably meet at a place locally known as Cnoc na Comhairle — The Council Hill, or at Clach na Comhairle — The Council Stone. If they meet at night they meet in some central house on the townland. Almost invariably these meetings are held at night, so as to avoid losing time during the day. The meetings are orderly and interesting.

Not infrequently the man proposed for the constableship by his fellow-crofters of the townland declines the office. Then another is proposed, and perhaps with like result. Ultimately the people may have to cast lots before they get a man among themselves to accept the office, the duties of which are distasteful to them.

In some townlands the constable is elected or re-elected yearly, in some for a term of years, and in others for life.

The man who has been appointed constable takes off his shoes and stockings. Uncovering his head, he bows reverently low, and promises, in presence of heaven and earth, in presence of God and of men,—Am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis De agus daoine,—that he will be faithful to his trust. In some places the elected constable takes up a handful of earth instead of uncovering his feet. The object is the same—to emphasise, by bodily contact with the earth, that he is conscious of being made of earth, to which he returns.

These and similar simple and impressive customs are disappearing, to the regret of the old people and the antiquary.

The services of the constable appointed by the factor are paid in money; those of the constable appointed by the crofters in kind—*Fiar air beinn, agus peighinn air machair*—grazing on hill and tillage on machair.

The duties of the constable are varied and troublesome—requiring much firmness and judgment. The constable, however, can always rely upon the assistance of one or all of his fellow-crofters as occasion requires.

The peat banks (*Gaelic, staill, poill*) of the townland having become exhausted, the factor or his maor marks out a new peat moss.

The constable divides this into the necessary number of stances or hags, according to the number of tenants in the townland. For these stances the crofters cast lots, as they do for their rigs of lands. Lest a man should be placed at any advantage or disadvantage from his neighbours, these stances are again subjected to the lot, in the course of three, five, seven, or nine years, as the people consider advisable.

A peat road (*Gaelic, utraid moine*) has to be made to this new peat moss. Probably the road requires to be made over one, two, or three or more miles of rock, bog, and moorland. It is the duty of the constable to see that every crofter in the townland gives the necessary number of days of free labour, with his horses and carts, spades and pickaxes, to construct this new road.

The constable must see that all the roads of the townland are kept in repair by the mutual co-operation of the crofters; that no unnecessary traffic is carried over these roads during or immediately after wet weather; and that the side and cross drains of the roads run free.

To insure equal distribution of labour these by-roads are divided into 'peighinnean,' pennies. The good and bad, the soft and hard, the steep and level parts of the road are thus divided and allotted. Each crofter must keep his own portion in repair. Should he neglect, he is taken to account by his neighbours, and his portion of road repaired at his expense.

The constable engages the herdsman and shepherd of the townland, apportions them ground for potatoes and bere, collects and pays their wages. These wages are self-levied on the crofters according to their rent, as they have a whole croft, a half croft, or a quarter croft.

Every townland has a cattle fold on the machair, and another on the gearry—Gaelic, gearruidh. In wet weather the constable instructs the herdsman to keep the cows to the machair, where the fold, from the nature of the soil, is less wet and comfortless to the cows and the women who milk them, than the fold on the gearry.

The constable must see that the dyke enclosing the cattle-fold is repaired in early summer before being used, and that the gate, ‘cadha-chliath na cuithe’—the gate of the cattle-fold—is good and strong. The term cadha-chliath literally signifies the wattle gorge or pass.

In wooded districts throughout the Highlands, where materials can be found, doors, gates, partitions, fences, barns, and even dwelling-houses, are made of wattle-work.

In the case of dwelling-houses and their partitions, the wattling is plastered over on both sides with boulder clay, and whitewashed with lime, thereby giving an air of cleanliness and comfort to the house.

Of old this wattle-work was largely used by the Celts. It is believed that many of their early houses and churches were made of wattling, and Mr. Skene thinks that St. Columba’s first church in Iona was so constructed.

One of the Gaelic names of Dublin—Gaelic, Dubhlinne, ‘blacklinn’—is Bail ath-chliath, ‘the town of the ford of wattles,’ the first bridge over the river Liffey having been constructed of wattle-work.

Probably the interlacing—occasionally called Celtic basket-work—so much used and so much admired in ancient Celtic art and sculpturing had its origin in this wattle-work.

In carting sea-weed up from the shore, which is extremely

trying upon horses, the constable sees that no man works his horse too heavily or too long.

When he orders the people to stop work they must stop. In some places there was a latent superstition among the people that the spirits of their horses were in communication with the spirits of heaven. Probably this gave rise to their saying—

‘Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam
Cha bhith e mi-throcaireach ri bhruid.’

‘He who is merciful to his soul
Will not be unmerciful to his beast.’

The constable must see to ‘Cuartachadh a Bhaile,’ rounding or circuiting the townland.

There being no fences round the fields, there is danger that cattle or horses of their own or neighbouring farms may break loose during night and damage the corn.

To guard against this, two of the crofters make a circuit of the townland at night, each two and two of the crofters taking this watching in turns during summer and autumn. This precaution is called ‘cuartachadh,’ circuiting. Should the watchers be remiss and damage result, the two crofters responsible must make good the loss. The damage to the corn being appraised, the two crofters in fault pay it to the constable, who adds it to the general fund of the townland. Should cattle or horses from a neighbouring farm cause loss, the owners have to pay the loss. The people are exacting in recovering these valuations. ‘Is e an cunntas goirid, a dh-fhagas an cairdeas fada,’ they say, ‘It is the short accounting that shall leave the friendship lasting,’ and they act accordingly.

Those, however, who are thus exacting in pecuniary matters are, nevertheless, kind and considerate to one another in other things. Should a crofter or his family be laid up ill, his fellow-crofters help on his work. If a man’s horse dies, his neighbours bring on his work concurrently

with their own, and, if necessary, help him to buy another horse.

In connection with their watching, the people speak of a time when they had to kindle fires to scare away wild beasts from their flocks, as they do now in some localities to scare away deer and game from their crops. These fires look picturesque at night, and remind one of Campbell's beautiful poem of 'The Soldier's Dream'—'By the wolf-scaring faggot that guarded the slain.'

I have asked crofters who said that they were in the habit of sitting up at night to watch their corn from deer, if they mentioned this hardship to their factor. 'Yes,' said they, 'but he told us that if we complained to him again he would clear us all out of the place, so as to be out of the way of the deer. Therefore though we suffer we keep quiet.'

The constable buys fresh stock, for the infusion of new blood for his townland, and sells the old. He will not allow a crofter to cart sea-weed from the shore till his neighbours have reasonable time to be there, nor will he allow a crofter to cut sea-weed when and where he likes. He must see that the run-rig land—*imire*—of one man is not allowed to lie under water to the injury of the man to whose lot it may fall at next allotting. The tenant must cut a drain to allow the surface water to escape.

Should the crofters of the townland have occasion to complain of a fellow-crofter to the factor, a deputation from the crofters go to the factor to prefer the complaint. The deputation is represented by the constable alone or in company. The factor confers with the constable, giving instructions, and possibly removes the recalcitrant crofter from his holding, should he continue to offend against the customs of the community.

The constable gives information to the people from the factor as to days on which the factor is to collect rents and rates, as to new rules which the factor wishes enforced, or old ones which he wishes more strictly observed, and various other things.

These are some of the duties devolving on the farm constable for the orderly management of the townland. In the past he had to assist the maor in evicting crofters, sometimes in evicting and pulling down the houses of near and dear relatives.

There have been no large evictions in recent years in the Western Islands, nor will there probably be.

Proprietors, with a few exceptions, now visit their properties, taking a kindly interest in their people, and factors are more considerate. One of these, indeed, is a man endowed with more excellence of head and heart, without faults, than ordinarily falls to the lot of man, a man possessing the implicit confidence of proprietors and tenants alike, who daily injures himself to benefit them. Mr. John Macdonald, tacksman, Newton, North Uist, and factor for Sir John Orde, will not forgive my mentioning his name, but others will throughout the Highlands and Islands, where his name is honoured among all classes.

But things were not always so in the Western Isles. Where a factor, in many ways capable and excellent, in those days wished to acquire more land for himself, his relations, or friends, he seems to have felt no more compunction in destroying the well-being of scores of comfortable crofters than were they so many sheep. This was a common occurrence. Nor, incredible as it may seem, was it till years afterwards, that some of those absentee proprietors came to know, and that accidentally, of the wholesale removals of scores of their peaceable, loyal, industrious tenants, and of this practical destruction of hundreds of their crofter population. That these and many similar proceedings should have paralysed the whole crofter population of the Western Islands was only natural. Nor does it need a man to live and travel among the islands for a quarter of a century to see and to be convinced that the people of those Western Isles have not yet recovered from the effects of that paralysation.

BARRA

The Islands of Barra form an oblong group. Of these islands, eight are inhabited. The Southern Isles of Barra were of old called the Bishop's Isles, because they belonged to the bishop of the see. The head of this wild precipitous chain of islands is still called Bearnaraidh an Easpaig, Bearnarey of the Bishop, occasionally Barra Head—Gaelic Ceann Bharraidh.

The Southern Isles of Barra are famed for birds. These are principally the puffin, razorbill, and the guillemote, Gaelic buigire, duibheineach, and langaidh. The Manx shearwater, Gaelic scrab, was extremely abundant there at one time; but since the advent of the puffin, it is now practically extinct. Both these last are burrowing birds. The puffin is vicious to a degree, his wonderfully strong, sharp, coulteneb bill cutting keenly as a lance.

Of old the crofters of Miuthlaidh paid their rents in birds to Macneill of Barra. These birds were principally the young of the shearwater, and called by the people 'fachaich,' 'fatlings.'

The land was divided into crofts called 'Clitig,' 'Feoirlig,' 'Leth-Pheighinn,' and 'Peighinn.' The 'Clitig' is half the 'Feoirlig,' the 'Feoirlig' is half the 'Leth-Pheighinn' and 'Leth-Pheighinn' is half the 'Peighinn,' Penny.

The Penny Croft paid two barrels, the Halfpenny Croft one barrel, the Farthing Croft one-half barrel, and the Clitig Croft one-fourth barrel of 'fachaich' to Macneill.

Probably not less than twenty barrels of these birds went to Macneill yearly, and all from the small island of Grianamal, behind Miuthlaidh!

The proprietor came over to Miuthlaidh a fortnight before, and remained till a fortnight after Lammas Day—Gaelic, La Lunastain. The people were not allowed to go to the rocks till he came; when he left, they had the free range of the cliffs.

The people of the Southern Isles do not now kill many birds, being too much occupied otherwise.

The people of Miuthlaidh do not seem to have used ropes as they do in St. Kilda, but to have clambered among the rocks like goats. These rocks are wonderfully grand. Mr. Campbell of Islay and the writer measured the highest of these in October 1871, when the barometer showed nearly 800 feet above the sea. The place is named Aonig, and this particular rock is called Biolacreag. The face of the cliff is as smooth and perpendicular as the wall of a house, and goes sheer down into the Atlantic.

This precipice was the crest of the ancient Macneills of Barra, and 'Biolacreag' formed the rallying cry of the clan.

There is probably no more interesting island in Britain than this island of Miuthlaidh, with its wonderful precipices, long narrow sea galleries, several hundred feet high in the perpendicular sides, and marine arcades, winding their gloomy subterraneous ways under the precipitous island. To boat through these galleries and arcades needs a calm sea, a good crew, and a steady nerve. So far as the people of Miuthlaidh knew, the writer was the first to discover, and the first, and perhaps the last, to go through, much the longest, largest, and gloomiest of these wonderful sinuous sea arcades.

The Macneils of Barra lived in a castle on a tidal rock called Ciosmal, in Baile Mhicneill, Macneilltown, now called Castlebay. There are two wells within the walls of this old castle. The people say that the water of these wells comes in pipes under the sea, the pipes being overlaid with large flags.

Some fifteen years ago, the then factor let the castle as a herring-curing station, when the principal well, in the centre of the court, was filled up, and the chapel in the west corner carried away piecemeal as ballast for boats and vessels. The native people, who still fondly cling to the memory of their once proud chiefs, were grieved at the destruction they were powerless to prevent.

The site of Ciosmal Castle had been the site of a magazine, wherein the Norsemen kept war materials during the Norse occupation of the Western Isles.

Ciosmal was abandoned by the Macneills during the first quarter of last century. They built houses in three other places, finally settling at Eoligearry, on the north end of the island. The family became extinct in the direct male line in Lieut.-General Roderick Macneill. It is said that so symmetrical in person was General Macneill that 'no eye looked at him without looking at him again.' He was adored by his people, who, with the fidelity of their race, ruined themselves in trying to save him from ruin. They gave him their all.

To Dr. Macgillivray, the people of Barra are much indebted, and this they gratefully acknowledge. Since he became tacksman of Eoligearry, some forty-four years ago, probably he has given in one form or another some £7000 in work to the people of Barra, while his skill and his medicine are ever at the disposal of all. The eminent naturalist of that name was brother to Dr. Macgillivray.

A curious custom prevails among the people of Barra of apportioning their boats to their fishing-banks at sea, much as they apportion their cows to their grazing grounds on land. The names, positions, extent, characteristics, and capabilities of these banks are as well known to them as those of their crofts.

The people meet at church on the 1st day of February — Gaelic, La-Fheill Bride — the Festival of St Bridget; and having ascertained among themselves the number of boats engaging in the long line fishing, they assign these boats in proportionate numbers among the banks according to the fishing capabilities of each bank. The men then draw lots, each head-man drawing the lot for his crew, and thus the boats are assigned to their respective banks for the season.

Should a bank prove unproductive, the boats of that bank are invariably allowed to distribute themselves

among the other banks, the boats of which are then at liberty to try the deserted bank. The fishermen say that the ways and migrations of the fishes of the sea are as unaccountable as those of the fowls of the air—here to-day and there to-morrow. They say also that fishes resemble birds in their habits: some fishes, as the cod and the conger, in being solitary, like the raven and the skua; while some other fishes, as the saithe and the herring, are gregarious in their habits, and live in communities, like the razorbill and the guillemote. I am indebted to the intelligent and observant fishermen throughout those islands for much interesting and curious information regarding fishes and sea-birds.

Having completed their balloting, the fishermen go in to church, accompanied by fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, and sweethearts. The good priest says a short service, wherein he commends those 'who go down to the sea in ships' to the protection of the holy Saint Barr, after whom Barra is named, of the beautiful Saint Bridget, 'virgin of a thousand charms'—'Bride bhoidheach oigh nam mile beus'—on whose festival they are met, of their loved Mother, the golden-haired Virgin, and to the protection, individually and collectively, of the Holy Trinity. The people disperse, chanting—

'Athair, A Mhic, A Spioraid Naoimh,
Biodh an Tri-aon leinn, a la's a dh'oidheche;
'S air chul nan tonn, no air thaobh nam beann,
Bith'dh ar Mathair leinn 's bith'dh a lamh mu'r ceann.
Bith'dh ar Mathair leinn 's bith'dh a lamh mu'r ceann.'

Father! Son! and Spirit Holy!
Be the Three-in-One with us day and night;
And at the back of the waves or on the mountain-side,
Be our Mother with us and be her hand about our head,
Be our Mother with us and be her hand about our head.

Having dispersed, the people repair to their homes, on the way thither eagerly and simultaneously discussing the

merits and the demerits of their respective banks. To hear their loud and simultaneous talk, one would think that the people were quarrelling. But no, this is only their way—the Barra people being peaceable and gentle, and eminently well-mannered and polite.

This habit of the Barra fishermen of apportioning their fishing-banks may seem antiquated to modern views. The fishermen themselves advance good reasons for its retention, among them being that it prevents overcrowding of boats on the banks, with the consequent entanglement of lines, resulting sometimes in the loss of temper and friendship.

In the *Inverness Courier* seventeen years ago, or so, the writer suggested converting the strait between Barra Head and Miuthlaidh into a harbour of refuge, by throwing a breakwater across the west end. A harbour there would be of inestimable benefit to shipping and fishing.

Third Stage of Run-Rig

The arable land of the crofters of Barra is all divided into crofts, no part being in common. The grazing-grounds only are held in common, each townland being confined to its own grazing limits. The crofters of each townland have their own herdsman, and regulate their own townland affairs with no interference from without.

(To be continued.)

THE BISCAYAN VERB

AN ANALYTICAL INDEX TO THE 431 FORMS OF THE BISCAYAN VERB, found in the volume entitled *Euscal-Errijetaco Olqueeta, ta Dantzeen Neurrizco-Gatz-Ospinduba ; or The Moderate Salted Vinegar for the Danses and Amusements of Baskland*, by Friar Bartolomé Santa Teresa, of the Bare-footed Carmelites of Markína, in Biscaya, published at Pamplona, Navarra, in 1816 ;¹ and at the Librería de Federico Soloaga, Artecalle, Durango, Biscaya, Spain, May 20, 1914. By EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON, M.A., of Jesus College, Oxford.

‘EL Bibliotecario del Ateneo Científico, Literario, y Artístico B.L.M. al Hon. Mr. Edward S. Dodgson, y le participa que en esta Biblioteca se venía recibiendo con regularidad, y se coleccionaba cuidadosamente la *Celtic Review* que nos enviaba, siempre con el mayor agradecimiento recibida por nuestra Sociedad ; la cual se atreve á rogar á Vd no interrumpa tan útil regalo. Don Ramón Perez de Ayala aprovecha esta ocasión para reiterar al Sr Dodgson las seguridades de su más distinguida consideración. Madrid, 24 de Abril de 1914.’²

¹ It bears the number 184 in the *Bibliographie de la Langue Basque*, par Julien Vinson, Paris, 1891 and 1898. There is a copy of it in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with the press-mark : Basque f. 24. ; and another in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with the cote ‘z Basque 416.’

The book may be obtained for half-a-crown, post free, from Edward S. Dodgson, Esq., Oxford ; and the following index is offered as a help to all who read it. The pages of the two editions coincide almost to a word.

² ‘The Librarian of the Scientific, Literary, and Artistic Athenæum presents his compliments to Mr. E. S. Dodgson, and informs him that the *Celtic Review* which he sent has been received with regularity and has been carefully kept together, always with the greatest gratitude received by our Society, which ventures to ask you not to interrupt such a useful present.

‘Don Ramon Perez de Ayala avails himself of this occasion to repeat to Mr. Dodgson the assurances of his most distinguished consideration.

‘MADRID, 24th of April 1914.’

This amiable letter lets the friends of the *Celtic Review* know where they can find its volumes, if they happen to visit the *Peninsula* of the *Iberi* and *Celtiberi*. Those tribes may have exchanged words with the Gauls, beyond the Pyrénées, and even with the Gaels of *Hibernia*, across the Atlantic Whale-Road which united it with *Hispania*, before Rome, in the strength of her commerce and of her arms, began to try to combine them under her *Induperatores*, by the foolish method of silencing their native tungs,¹ while Spanish soldiers fought in her service among the British Kelts.

Again in the eighteenth century we find evidence of an attempt to join intellectually the Keltic *Erdara* and the Baskish *Heuskara*, or *Euskera*, as our Carmelite and other Biscayan authors call it in their dialect. Thus the great *Diccionario Trilingüe del Castellano, Bascuence* (sic) *y Latín* of Don Manuel de Larramendi, S.J.²), published at San Sebastián in 1745, was incorporated into the famous *Mémoires sur la Langue Celtique* (1754-60) by Jean Baptiste Bullet, of Besançon, whose portrait ought to be reproduced in every bookroom where Gaelic, Welsh, Cornish,³ and Breton find readers and students. And perhaps it was Bullet's example which induced Henry Clarke,⁴ who was born in 1743 at Salford, became LL.D. of the University of Edinburgh in 1802, and died in Islington, in 1818, to classify Biscayan

¹ The Rev. J. B. M'Govern, of the Irish Texts Society, wrote to me on 22nd September 1914: 'I to-day read in a letter of E. A. Freeman (July 14, 1869, *Life and Letters*, vol. i. p. 421), "I don't see the use of writing *distinguisht*, but I would fain write *tung*, if I dared." The *italics* are his.' There is *no authority* for writing silent *ue* in tongue, or of silent *l* in could, or of silent *s* in island. They are recent and useless innovations; and writers and speakers can only gain by rightly abandoning them, and returning thereby to the simplicity of Old English usage.

² He published some other books in favour of Baskish or Vascuense (*Vasconense*), his mother-tung.

³ Some valuable Cornish manuscripts of the first half of the eighteenth century are kept unused in the Provincial Library at Bilbao, the capital of Biscaya. The friends of the revival of Pan-Keltic philology will endeavour themselves to bring about their return to Great Britain.

⁴ See the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

with the Keltic tungs¹ in his *Tabulæ Linguarum*, published in 1793.²

So, rather than leave Baskish to complain with Suibhne,³

*Utmhall mh'imirce in gach iath,
Dúaire an bhetha bheith gan teach !*

let the Gaels embrace Heuskarian studies with perfervid zeal, and gain a new point of comparison and contrast for their own ancient 'world of words.' To do so would be of more practical utility than to read *The Japanese Language collated with the Irish*, by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Vallancey, LL.D.,⁴ which my learned friend Mr. Sanki Ichikawa, of the University of Tókió, noticed when he was travelling in Eireland in 1913, and thought unworthy of scientific criticism.

To get more light on the Biscayan Verb, they must read *El Verbo Regular Vascongado del Dialecto Vizcaino*, por Fray J. M. de Zavála (San Sebastián, 1848); the *Gramática Vascongada* escrita por Don F. I. de Lardizábal (San Sebastián, 1856); the *Gramática de los Cuatro Dialectos Literarios de la Lengua Euskara*, por Don Arturo Campión (Tolosa, Guipúscoa, 1886); the Index to the Verb in my editions of the Biscayan Catechism of Agustín Cardaberaz (1762), and of the Biscayan Catechism of Martín Ochoa de Capánaga (1653); and also my *Analysis* of the Verb of two Catechisms of the eighteenth century written in the adjoining dialect of the Provincia de Guipúscoa, which appeared respectively in *The Transactions of the Philological*

¹ See footnote, p. 56.

² Edward Llyud of Llanforda, Wales, and Jesus College, Oxford (1660-1709), Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, left among his manuscripts an amusingly incorrect glossary of Baskish words extracted from Leizarragas *New Testament* of the year 1571. Dr. T. K. Abbott, Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, found it there in 1904 and published it in *Hermathena*. The remainder of my analytical *Synopsis* of the forms of the verb found in that beautiful translation, based upon the original Greek text, will be published in 1915, D.V., at the University Press in Oxford.

³ See p. 120 of *Buile Suibhne* . . . a Middle-Irish romance, by J. G. O'Keeffe, 1913: vol. xii. of the Irish Texts Society.

⁴ Author of an Old-Irish Grammar. See *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, No. x.: Dublin, 1782.

Society of London, in 1901, and in the *Hermathena* of Trinity College, Dublin, for the years 1910-1913.

I have written an English version of the eloquent Carmelite's intolerant denunciation of the *bascosidad* of the dances of his clansmen of one hundred years ago. It led to the publication of two books in the Guipúscoan dialect by J. I. de Iztueta, the historian; and is of value, chiefly to those who have resided in Spanish Baskland, for the light which it throws on the customs of that region, as well as for some interesting phrases, and phonetic variations, which it contains. He connects the word *danse* not with Gaelic *dan*, a *poem*, although primitive people sang verses as they danced; but with the Biblical Tribe of Dan, whom he accuses of having led the world to *choreas ducere*. He proposes to them a few less harmful pastimes or diversissements as a substitute; for instance (p. 31), the beautiful game of *pelota*, for which during the last fifty years the Basks have been famous. Some of their dances were performed before H.M. Queen Victoria while she stayed at Biarritz in 1889, when she was reported to have said that they reminded her of those of bonnie Scotland.

‘COHFFERIE AHD THEH PHEFFERIE’

(*Magna Charta*, London, A.D. 1556, R. Totelius.)

Baquadaz, 96. Indicative present, singular, first person, accusative plural, verb transitive irregular *jakin*. (=ba-Daquadaz.) *I know them*.

Bauijee, 73, 149. Ind. pres. plural, third p., acc. singular, v. tr. irr. *jakin*. (=ba-Dauijee.) *They know it*.

Bagoz, 29, 54 (bis). Ind. pres. pl. 3., v. neuter irr. *egon*. (=ba-Dagoz.) *They stay, remain, are*.

Baguala, 167. See *Ba-Daguala*. It is daguala in the new edition.

Beuijo, 157, 165. Imperative s. 3., dative s., auxiliary. *Let it be to it!*

Beuijue, 57, 198. Imp. s. 3., dat. pl., aux. *Be it to them!*

Beit (for Bekit), 199. Imp. s. 3., dat. s. first person, aux. *Let it be to me!*
(Is this a misprint, or a local contraction?)

Bedi, Vedi, 14, 33, 42 (ter), 120, 158 (bis), 165. Imp. s. 3., aux. *Be it;*
let it be!

Bediz, 76, 146, 158. Imp. pl. 3., aux. *Let them be ; be they !*

Beeban. See Eban.

Beegozan, **Egozan**, 111, 143, 162. Ind. imp. pl. 3., v. neut. irr. *egon*.

On p. 143 it represents *ba-Egozan*, with *ba* conditional=*if*. (*If they stayed*. Cf. Capánaga, p. 32, and p. 20 of the *Apéndice Primero* of Lardizábal.

Begui, 60, 71. Imp. s. 3., acc. s., aux. active *egin=do*. *Let him do, or have, it*. (Cf. *do* as the active auxiliary in *English*.)

Begujee, 183. Imp. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *egin*. *Let them do it !*

Beguz, 174. Imp. s. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *egin*. *Let him have them !*

Begoz, 56. Imp. pl. 3., v. neut. irr. *egon*. *Let them stay !*

Betor, 157. Imp. s. 3., v. intransitive irr. *etor*. *Let it come !*

Bitez, 41, 158. *Id quod Bediz*. *Be they, let them be !*

Da. Ind. pres. s. 3., v. substantive and aux. *Is*. Under this part of the Verb I have counted *bada=pues, donc, then*, as it originally meant *if, or as, it is (so)* ; and *ezpada=si no, mais, but*, originally *if it is not, unless, or except it is*. Our author does not use the older form *ta* for *da* when the negative prefix *ez=not* precedes it. In the edition of 1914 (printed in 1904) the two words are set apart, as here and there in the first. The same plan was followed in the case of all other forms of the Verb preceded by *ez*. *Ezda*, the Biscayan equivalent of Guipúscoan *ez eta, ez-ta*, meaning *and not, nor yet, nor*, is only graphically an equivalent, formed from *ez=not* and *da=and, also*. 3, 9, 10, 11 (bis), 12 (6 times) 14 (4 t.) 15, 16, 17 (bis), 18 (bis), 19, 20 (4 t.), 21 (ter), 23, 25 (5), 26 (bis), 27, 28, 29 (3), 30 (2), 31 (5), 32 (3), 33 (6), 37, 38 (4), 39 (2), 41 (5), 42 (3), 44 (3), 45 (2), 46, 48 (bis), 49, 51 (4), 54 (2), 55 (2), 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63 (2), 64 (2), 65 (3), 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73 (2), 74, 75 (2), 79, 80 (*dira* was substituted in the 2nd edition), 82 (3), 84, 85 (2), 88 (3), 91, 95, 98, 99 (2), 100, 101, 106 (3), 107 (4), 108 (5), 109 (2), 110 (2), 111 (3), 112 (4), 113 (2), 115, 116 (5), 117 (2), 118, 119 (3), 120 (3), 121, 122 (3), 124, 129, 130, 131 (3), 132, 134 (2), 135, 139 (2), 140 (3), 146 (5), 147, 148 (4), 150 (2), 151 (2), 153, 154 (4), 155, 156, 157 (2), 158 (5), 159, 160, 161 (2), 163, 165, 166, 167 (4), 168, 169 (3), 171 (2), 172 (2), 173, 174, 176 (2), 177 (2), 178 (4), 179, 180, 183, 184, 185 (4), 187 (4), 188 (8), 189 (4), 191 (6), 192 (3), 193 (3), 194 (3), 195, 196 (6), 197 (6), 198 (4), 199 (4), 206, 207.

Dabee, **Davee**, **Dauée**. Frai Bartolomé spells it once with *u*, and with *v* more often than with *b*. In this and all other Forms of the Verb the intervocalic *u* and the *v* became *b* in the second edition, except by oversight on pp. 188, 205, and possibly elsewhere. 8, 9, 15, 16 (3), 17 (2), 20, 31 (p. 30 in the 2nd ed.), 32 (2), 40, 45, 46, 54, 55, 57 (2), 60, 61, 62 (3), 65 (2), 67, 68, 70, 72, 76, 77, 82, 86, 91, 94,

- 110, 114, 122, 123, 124, 129, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 146, 150, 153 (3), 156, 158, 167 (2), 169, 176, 177, 179, 181, 183 (2), 184, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 195 (2), 198. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., v. possessive and aux. active. *They have it.*
- Dabeela, Daveela,** 35, 40, 48 (2), 50, 57, 58, 65, 66, 67, 91 (2), 94, 107, 113, 132 (2), 146, 155, 160 (2), 166, 168, 169, 173, 176, 179, 182, 183, 185, 189, 191, 192, 194, 199 (2). I. q. *Dabee* with *la* conjunctive, and participial. *That, or while they have it.*
- Daveelaco,** 57, 71, 114 (2). I. q. *Dabeela* conjunctive, with the possessive-locative termination *co* : *laco* giving the pretextive sense to it. *On-the-ground-that they have it.*
- Dabeen, Daveen, Daueen.** 8, 9, 40, 45, 48, 58, 64 (2), 71 (2), 96, 106, 110, 113, 115, 132, 135, 153, 154, 160, 162, 175, 180, 184 (6), 190, 191, 192 (4), 198 (2), 202, 205 (2). I. q. *Dabee* with *N* conjunctive; and relative pronoun pl. act., acc. s., and mediative s. *That they have it* ; (those) *which have it* (8, 96, 132, 135, 180, 198, 202) ; *by which they have it* (9) ; (that) *which they have* (40, 106, 110, 115, 154, 160, 190, 192).
- Daveena.** I. q. *Dabeen* (1) with *N* conj. declined (189) nominative passive, and 60, 100 (3), 189 accusative. This conjunctive declined is translated like *la* conj., or as 'the fact that, etc.' : (2) with *N* relative pl. act., decl. (12, 167) nom. s. pass. and (52, 88, 126) accusative s. (*na*=*the-fact-that* ; *that which*). *The-fact-that they have it* ; *that which they have.* On p. 14 read *Dabena*, where the first edition has *daveena*.
- Daveenac, Daueenac.** I. q. *Dabeen* with *N* rel. pl. act., decl. (1) nom. pl. act. 60, 94 ; (2) nom. pl. pass. 9, 47, 52, 53, 54, 56, 70, 112, 135, 150, 164, 200, 201, 202, 203 (2), 204 (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who have it.* On page 123 it ought to be *Dabenac*.
- Daveenian,** 201. I. q. *Dabeen*, *N*. relative temporal, declined temporal (*nian*=*when*). *When they have it.*
- Dabela, Davela,** 17, 20, 24, 46, 73, 80, 83 (2), 90, 98, 104, 112, 113, 121 (2), 128, 151, 166, 171, 182. I. q. *Dau*, become euphonically *Dabe*, with *la* conj. and participial. *That, or while, he has it.*
- Davelaco,** 15, 128 (2), 147, 166, 196. I. q. *Dabe*, with *laco* pretextive (p. 15, *ecin davelaco*, where *ecin*=*not possibly*). *On-the-ground-that he has it.*
- Daven.** I. q. *Dabe*, the euphonic form of *Dau*, with *N* rel. s. acc. 12 (2), 16, 70 ; *N* rel. s. nom. act. 51 ; *N* rel. temp. 164 ; *N* conj. 17, 39, 59, 83 (2), 98, 128, 168. *That which he has* ; *who has it* ; *when she has it* ; *that he has it.*
- Davena, Dauena.** I. q. *Daben*, with *N* conj. decl. (*na*=*la*) 48, 169, 189 ; *N* rel. s. act., decl. nom. pass., and acc. 12, 19, 25, 80, 107, 114, 157, 186, 196 (bis), 197 ; *N* rel. s. acc., decl. nom. pass., and acc.

11, 12 (3), 14 (2, *daveena*, l. 11, is a misprint), 26, 28, 66 (*na=the-fact-that; that which*). *The-fact-that he has it; that which has it; that which he has.*

Davenac. I. q. *Dabena*, but active, 26, 30 (ruling *euquitia* the accusative of *Dabee*), 66 (2), 102 (*davenec* in 1816 is a misprint), 123 (3), 134, 174, 185 (2) (*nac=he who; by him who*). *He who has it; (30) by him who has it.* On p. 123, l. 6, *dabeenac* is a misprint of the second edition only.

Davenarentzat, Dauenarentzat, 8, 42. I. q. *Daben*, *N* rel. s. act., decl. determinate destinative (*narentzat=for him who*). *For him who has it.*

Davenari, 48, 76, 204. I. q. *Daben*, *N* rel. s. act., decl. dat. det. (*nari=to him who*). *To him who has it.*

Davenian, 46, 51. I. q. *Daben*, *n* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian=when*). *When one has it.*

Davenic, 94, 134. I. q. *Daben*, *N* rel. s. act., decl. partitive indefinite (*nic=some one who*). *Any one who has it.*

Davil, 110, 116. Ind. pres. s. 3., v. irr. neut. *ebil*. *Goes, walks.*

Davilen, 18, 64, 204. I. q. *Dabil*, with *e* euphonic before *N* rel. s. nom. (18, 204); *N* temp. (64). *Who goes; when one goes.*

Davilena, 87. I. q. *Dabilen*, *N* rel. s. nom., decl. acc. (*na=that one who*). *Him, or her, who goes.*

Dabilenac, ez-Davillenac, 16, 128. I. q. *Dabilen*, *N* rel. s. nom., decl. act. (*nac=he who*). *He who goes.* (16 with *ez=not*.)

Davilenic, 139. I. q. *Dabilen*, *N* rel. s. nom., decl. partitive indef. (*nic=any one who*). *Any (kind) which goes.*

Daviltz, 70, 76, 139. Ind. pres. pl. 3., v. irr. neut. *ebil*. *They go, or walk.*

Daviltzala, 125. I. q. *Dabiltz*, with *A* euph. before *la* participial. *Them walking; or as they walk.*

Dabilzan, Daviltzan, 50, 64, 70, 81, 82, 176, 184. I. q. *Dabiltz*, with *A* euph. before *N* (50, 81, 82) rel. pl. nom.; or sing. locative. (*Those who walk; in which they walk.*

Dabiltzanac, Daviltzanac, Davilzanac, 7, 59, 113, 114, 174, 200, 201, 202 (4). (On p. 174, in 1816, *davizanac* is a misprint.) I. q. *Dabiltzan*, *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. pl. nom. act. and pass., and (114, 174) acc. (*nac=those who*). *Those who walk, or move.*

Daviltzanian, 163. I. q. *Dabiltzan*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian=when*). *When they walk.*

Dacar, 22. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *ekar*. *Brings it.*

Dacarree, 59, 155. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *ekar*. *They bring it.* p. 59, with *ez-ba* (if) *They bring it (not)*.

ez-Dacarreenac, 14. I. q. *Dacarree*, with *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. intr. (*nac=those which*). *Those which bring it (not)*.

Dacarreez, 126. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., v. irr. act. *ekar*. *They bring them.*

- Dacarreezan**, 78. I. q. *dacarreez*, with *A* euph. before *N* rel. pl. acc. (*Those*) *which they bring*.
- Dacarren**, 25 (ter). I. q. *Dacar*, with *RE* euph. before *N* rel. s. acc. (*That*) *which it brings*.
- Dacarz**, 197. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., v. irr. act. *ekar*. *Brings them*.
- Dacazala**, 39. I. q. *Dacarz*, with *A* euph. before *la* conj. *That it brings them*. The nominatives *alperreri-jac* and *olqueeta utsac* are taken separately, *eta* being here disjunctive. Perhaps it is a misprint of *dacarzala*. Cf. *Dacacen* in my Index to the Catechism of José Ochon de Arin.
- Daqui**, 47, 48, 58, 63, 106, 109, 120, 161. Ind. pres. s. 3, acc. s., v. irr. act. *jakin*. *Knows it*. P. 120, *ez-ba-daqui*=If he knows it not.
- Daquijala**, 71, 90, 154, 194 (bis). I. q. *Daki*, with *ja* euph. before *la* conj. =*that*, or (71, 154) participial=*while*. *That*, or *while he knows it*.
- Daquijanac**, 62, 71, 74 (also 129 in the new edition). I. q. *Daki*, with *ja* euph. before *N* rel. s. act., decl. act. (*nac*=*he who*). *He who knows it*. On p. 50 it is *Daquijanac* with the semi-auxiliary *al*.
- Daquijanec**, 129. Apparently a misprint of *Daquijanac* already defined, and so corrected in my edition. No other form of the Verb ending in *nec* occurs in the book of 1816, *davenec* on p. 102 being a misprint.
- Daquijee**, 55, 60. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *jakin*. *They know it*.
- Daquijeela**, 58, 99, 100 (3), 102, 148, 183. I. q. *Dakijee*, with *la* participial, and (99, 183) conj. *While*, or *that they know it*.
- Daquijeen**, 50. I. q. *Dakijee*, with *N* conj. ruled by *legueez*. (*As*) *that they know it*.
- Daquijeena**, 101. I. q. *Dakijeen*, decl. acc. s. (*na*=*the-fact-that*, translated as if it were *la*). *The-fact-that they know it*.
- Daquijeena**, 55, 94, 136, 201, 205. On p. 136 the text of 1816 has *daquijenac*. I. q. *Dakijeen*, *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. intr. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who know it*.
- Daquijeez**, 112. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., v. irr. act. *jakin*. *They know them*.
- Daquijen**, 193, line 4, is a misprint for *daquijuen*, rectified in 1904.
- Daquijuen**. (Equivalent to *Dakioen* in *El Verbo Regular Vascongado del Dialecto Vizcaino*, Por Don J. M. de Zavála (San Sebastián, 1848), 51 (bis). In line 8 of both editions it was misprinted *daquijuen*), 119, 192, 193 (2). Subj. pres. s. 3., dat. pl., aux. *That it be to them*. On p. 119 it is destinative, equal to *ezdakijuentzát*=*in order that it be not to them*.
- Daquit**, 22, 125. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. s., v. irr. act. *jakin*. *I know it*.
- Daquizu**, 187. Ind. pres. pl. 2., acc. s., v. irr. act. *jakin*. *Ye know it*.
- Daquizula**, 131. I. q. *Dakizu*, *la* participial. *While ye know it*.

(To be continued.)

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DONALD MACLEAN

THE wind-swept and wave-washed island of Colonsay, on the west of Argyll, like many other isolated spots in the Highlands, gave birth to not a few men of eminence who served their country with distinction. It was at Colonsay, seventy-five years ago, that Professor Donald Mackinnon was born. Sprung of the native stock, and inheriting its best qualities, his first outlook on the world of knowledge in which he was destined to leave his mark was through a rude and unpretentious parish schoolhouse typical of the times, and of which the Professor has given us a vivid account in Gaelic. A rough pile of unhewn stones that were separated from the heavens by a thick layer of thatch, which was not always water-tight, had in its portal for a door and protector from the rain-laden western gale a column of wood wound round with ropes of straw, which served its gallant purpose only as long as hungry cattle ceased to be passers-by. The dank and gloomy interior of a school, whose lattices were as primitive as its doorway, was relieved only by the glowing fire to which each pupil contributed his peat. In the heart of many a Highland lad burned with corresponding glow a zeal for knowledge. To this flame the schoolmaster brought a steady and unstinted supply of fuel from his store of knowledge. The parish schools of the time were, as a rule, in charge of men of culture and educational efficiency who were not unfrequently distinguished products of the Scottish Universities.

At the age of eighteen he left his island school, and entered the Church of Scotland Training College. At the Normal College, which was then a popular avenue to the University, he had a distinguished record. His University career was equally brilliant. In 1868 he gained the Macpherson Bursary, and the Hamilton Fellowship in Mental

Philosophy in the following year. His excellent mental equipment found early recognition and scope for administration. In the capacity of Clerk to the Church of Scotland's Educational Scheme (1869) and Endowed Schools and Hospitals (1872), he proved to be eminently capable. After the passing of the Education Act, and on the formation of the School Board of Edinburgh, he was appointed its first Clerk and Treasurer. This was an office not only of responsibility, but of considerable difficulty. For in the transition stage of Scottish Education from the control of the Churches to that of popularly elected bodies, there was at times an acrid atmosphere created by the prejudices of opposing ecclesiastical organisations. These were largely clarified by his equable and genial temper, his remarkable tact, and his unobtrusive firmness. During a three-years' teaching engagement in Lochinver, Sutherlandshire, he had made a close study of the dialects and literature of the North. This first-hand acquaintance with northern Highlanders served him well, not merely in the class-room afterwards, but in civil capacity as a member of Lord Napier's Commission, where, by his knowledge of Rob Donn, he proved by literary quotations, that the condition of the Highland crofters during the latter half of the nineteenth century was in many respects inferior to that of his forebears of the eighteenth century. His contribution to the Commission's Report was sufficiently impressive to accelerate the subsequent legislation for the amelioration of the lot of the crofters.

While still a student, his qualifications as a Gaelic scholar and enthusiast won for him the pre-eminent distinction of being associated with such distinguished men as Sir Alexander Grant, Sheriff Alexander Nicolson, and later Professor James Macgregor of the New College, Edinburgh, and Professor Blackie, in their effort to found a Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. The full fruition of their labours was the establishing of the Chair—the only Chair of its kind in Scotland—with the substantial endowment

of £14,000. To this Chair he was called to be its first occupant in 1882.

Scotland could boast of a splendid array of Gaelic scholars who brought to the study of this ancient speech the resources of excellent intellectual equipment. Students and patriots have been heavily indebted to them. Among these were Drs. Alexander Stewart, Ewen MacLachlan, Mackintosh Mackay, Thos. MacLauchlan, Clarke of Kilmallie, to mention only a few. As these disappeared, prophets of a new school emerged in the persons of Dr. Alexander Cameron of Brodick, Professor Mackinnon of Edinburgh, and Dr. Alexander MacBain of Inverness. Greatly stimulated by the researches of Continental scholars, these three pioneers applied themselves to a scientific study of the language. As a student of meticulous care in the region of linguistic analysis, Cameron stood on a high platform. He had, however, the defect of a too severe dogmatism which plunged him into many sharp controversies. It is only fair to the memory of this great man to state that most of the positions for which he fought so fiercely have been proved unassailable by the latest Celtic researches. MacBain, who specialised in philology, was, like Cameron, a native of Badenoch. He had all the mental strength and weakness of his countryman. His *Dictionary* is a splendid tribute to his industry.

Professor Mackinnon has a more profound and comprehensive knowledge of Gaelic language, literature, and antiquities than either of his contemporaries. He has better literary and linguistic balance, and accordingly a much saner judgment. He sees a vast difference between the hypothetical and the axiomatic. He moves with deliberate caution—not the caution of ignorance, but of knowledge. He knows too well the ramifications, the intertwining of the roots of a speech that penetrates into the remotest antiquity, to hurry to the limelight with mere show of knowledge. Travelling through the manifold windings of a speech, during its long history of development and deterior-

ation, requires a firmer guide than some of the foreign and home scholars who have impressed their knowledge with much insistence on the unwary and uncritical.

From the outset of his career in the Chair, Professor Mackinnon endeavoured to arouse enthusiasm and admiration for Scottish Gaelic and Gaelic literature. His task was a formidable one, as he had many foreign scholars, and some British and Irish, ranged against him. These regarded Scottish Gaelic as the uninteresting debris of a great speech, and concentrated attention on Irish as more worthy of study. Scottish Gaelic, like all branches of the Scottish speech, suffered by the corroding influences of time, when the decay of spoken speech was not arrested by any consistent orthography. This decay was only arrested by the literature that appeared after the middle of the eighteenth century, and notably by the translation of the Scriptures. In the various dialects of Scottish Gaelic, Professor Mackinnon, however, found such unmistakable evidence of its grandeur as to establish it in a place of equal honour with that of the other branches. To this mass of literature he drew the attention of his students, insisting on the need of careful and thorough study in order to appreciate the character and the soul of a people which were faithfully delineated by their chroniclers and poets. On resigning his Chair, he had the satisfaction of knowing that his efforts had created a school whose influence is manifest in a complete reversal of former historical estimates of the Scottish, and particularly the Highland, people.

In the classroom he was an ideal professor. To his eminence as a scholar and teacher must be added the invaluable qualities of accessibility, prudence, sympathy, authority, and soundness of judgment. He made frequent use of good humour and pawky common sense, but never of that scorching sarcasm that is so disastrous to study and discipline. The stumbling disciple he gently led, and on stupidity he never brought down an intellectual bludgeon. His energy and enthusiasm were well directed to elicit a

hearty response from those under his tuition. In a marked degree he was held in respect and affection by the many students who passed from his hands. The attachment between Professor and students, added to the efficiency of the instruction imparted, resulted in a complete revolution, in their relation to Gaelic, of the professions that labour over the Highland area. The ministry, who, above all others, use the vernacular as a means of instruction, have been rescued from the stigma of illiteracy in regard to Gaelic, until they are now to a very large extent, not merely accurate speakers, but in many cases students and advocates of its scientific cultivation. This highly meritorious result is an eloquent and a valuable memorial to his term of office.

As a writer, too, he has distinctly left his mark. His versatility can best be gauged by an examination of the periodic and daily press. In the *Scotsman* files alone can be found such a mass of material of varied interest on linguistic, social, antiquarian, genealogical, and ecclesiastical problems as would, if published, form a large volume of accurate information for students and the general public. His earliest contributions to Gaelic literature appeared in the columns of the *Gaidheal*, and these can still be studied profitably by students. As a writer of correct and idiomatic Gaelic he has hardly any equals. For his own class in the University he published selections of Gaelic extracts from MSS. and modern Gaelic authors showing the orthography and development of the speech. *The Celtic Review* is peculiarly indebted to him, for it was he who first suggested the establishing of such a magazine, and when asked to stand sponsor for it he at once and cordially agreed. His connection with the *Review* makes it impossible to speak at greater length here of his work for it. Everything Professor Mackinnon writes is valuable, and to the *Celtic Review* he has contributed numerous articles of great value, as well as the 'Glenmasan MS.' and the 'Thebaid of Statius' both annotated, compared with versions elsewhere and translated. Among his numerous contributions to Gaelic Societies, his

valuable paper on the Fernaig MS. in the transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, has placed all students of Gaelic under heavy obligations. He also acted as one of the revisers of the Gaelic Bible, contributing chiefly to the translation of the New Testament. First, however, in order of importance among the literary works, is his recent book—*The Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library and elsewhere in Scotland*. This is a work of rare illuminating scholarship and accurate research, which is invaluable to Celtic scholars and Scottish historians. No one else could have written this book. It has evoked the envy and admiration of Irish scholars, for notwithstanding the MS. treasures in Ireland and the progress of the Irish School, they have produced nothing comparable with it. But what is in many respects the greatest of his works still lies in MS. It is an amended, enlarged, and exhaustively revised edition of the Highland Society's *Dictionary*. If this labour of years were to see the light it would probably render further dictionaries of this kind unnecessary. But the publishing undertaking would require the purse of a syndicate.

No account of the Professor would be complete which ignored his delightful personal qualities, which did not speak of the charming Highland lady who is his wife. In the bosom of his own hospitable family, during the winter months of the past number of years, he has gathered Edinburgh Celtic enthusiasts at Gaelic Readings, and the outflow of his winsome, generous nature made these meetings a real oasis in the lives of their frequenters. His friend, the late Donald Mackechnie, has told in his own humorous fashion of this *ceilidh*.

May the Professor be long spared to continue his work in and for Gaelic and to encourage others by his example and counsel. 'Gu mu fad' a thigh ceo as a thigh !'

THE POSITION OF GAELIC IN SCOTLAND ¹

W. J. WATSON

THE Chair in connection with which I have the honour of addressing you in this inaugural lecture was founded in 1882, through the exertions and influence of John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek in this University, whose devotion to the interests of the Scottish Highlands, both educational and economic, deserves the lasting gratitude of the Gaelic-speaking people. The first occupant of the Chair, Professor Donald Mackinnon, has just ended a distinguished tenure, signalled by much scholarly work. Much of that work, unfortunately for the ordinary student, appeared only in the columns of the *Scotsman* and *Gaidheal*, and I think that very few are aware of the quantity and quality of the matter that lies thus concealed. That Professor Mackinnon may be long spared to enjoy his leisure is the warm wish of his many friends. If he finds time to see through the press a series of selections from the articles I have mentioned, he will confer on Scottish Gaelic scholarship a benefit comparable to that conferred by his masterly account of the Gaelic manuscripts in Scotland.

The official title of this Chair is the Chair of Celtic Languages, Literature, History and Antiquities, and the occupant is empowered to teach all of these subjects or some of them, with this proviso, that so long as Gaelic continues to be a medium of spiritual instruction in the Highlands of Scotland, the professor must give instruction in the uses and graces of Scottish Gaelic. Let me indicate shortly the extent of the field covered by this commission. In the department of languages we have (1) Irish Gaelic in its divisions of Old, Middle, and Modern; (2) Scottish Gaelic, the literature of which is mainly modern; (3) Manx Gaelic; (4) Welsh, Old, Middle, and Modern;

¹ An Inaugural Address delivered in the Celtic Classroom of the University of Edinburgh, on October 13, 1914.

(5) Breton ; (6) Cornish. Here, even allowing for the close resemblance of members of the Gaelic group to each other on the one hand, and the resemblance of members of the Cymric or Brettonic group to each other on the other hand, it is still true to say that any one of those languages is a formidable study in itself. More than this, the thorough knowledge of even one sub-division or stage of a language, such as Old Irish, forms a special study in itself. Along with the languages go the literatures, ranging from the abundance of Irish Gaelic to the slight remains of Manx and Cornish. In the region of History and Antiquities, we have to deal with what may be known of the Celts on the Continent from Spain and Gaul on the west to Galatia on the east, and with the insular or British Celts from the English Channel to Iceland. To deal adequately with this commission in its length, breadth, and depth, would require not one man, but a college, and it is with considerable relief, therefore, that the occupant of this Chair finds that the terms of his commission are satisfied if he deals with *some* of the subjects mentioned. The position is further defined by the proviso as to Scottish Gaelic, for there can be no doubt that, whatever may happen in time to come, Gaelic is now the principal medium of religious instruction over large areas of the Highlands, and that therefore the uses and graces of the language must form an important part of the work of the Celtic Chair at the present time. Whatever may be attempted in addition, the study of Scottish Gaelic as a living language will form the basis. It is therefore not inappropriate to this occasion to consider the position of Gaelic in Scotland, and in so doing I should like first to glance at its origin, and to trace in rough outline its varying fortunes in growth and in decline.

As to the origin of Gaelic in Scotland, two views are possible. The first is that Scottish Gaelic is a survival of the language of the earliest Celtic conquerors of Britain, who, according to this theory, were Gael, and who were pushed north into the Highlands and west into Ireland by a later Celtic invasion, this time of Cymric type. The

other view is shortly expressed in the assertion of Dr. Kuno Meyer, that 'no Gael ever set foot on British soil save from a vessel that had put out from Ireland.' The question is difficult, for the evidence is circumstantial, but on the whole I would agree with those who hold that Scottish Gaelic was introduced from Ireland in the early centuries of the Christian era, and as the language of superior culture, of the Church and of the Court, was gradually superinduced on dialects of the ancient British, the last of which to be eclipsed was the Welsh of Strath Clyde. Gaelic attained its greatest extent in the eleventh century, when at the time of Carham in 1018 it ran from Tweed and Solway to the Pentland Firth. Even then, it failed to oust English from the Merse; probably Caithness and Lewis spoke Norse only, while the Isles, the West Coast, and much of the north-east as far as the Beaully valley would be to some extent bilingual. In the twelfth century the position of Gaelic changed for the worse, when under the sons of Margaret it ceased to be the language of Church and Court, and ceased also to be regarded as the language of superior culture. In the course of the next five hundred years, Gaelic slowly withdrew from Scotland south of Forth and Clyde, leaving, however, abundant traces of its presence in the distinctively Gaelic names of places found all over that region, even in the Merse. Here around Edinburgh names like Balerno, Auchencorth, Craiglockhart, Dalmahoy are easily recognisable as Gaelic. The records sometimes afford interesting glimpses, as, for instance, an account of a perambulation of the lands of Stobo soon after the year 1200. In connection therewith, a number of men familiar with the lands in question were convened, and their names are given. Among them are pure Saxon names like Edolf; Strathclyde names like Ques Chutbrit; while twelve names are Gaelic such as Gylmihhel, Gillemor, Gylcolm,¹ which last was the name of

¹ Ques Chutbrit means St. Cuthbert's servant. Gylmihhel, Gilmor and Gylcolm mean St. Michael's servant, St. Mary's servant, and (probably) St. Columba's servant. Other interesting names in the same record are: Cos Mungho and Cos Patric Romefare (pilgrim to Rome).

the smith of Peebles. Gaelic lasted long in Galloway and Ayrshire. George Buchanan states that the old tongue was still spoken in parts of Galloway in his time, and it may have survived longer.

I have indicated that the period of Margaret and her sons, with its changes in Church and State, marked a falling away in the fortunes of Gaelic. The situation was reproduced in its main features nearly five hundred years later. In 1493 the final forfeiture of the great lordship of the Isles meant the collapse of a Gaelic court, and of a system of administration which was second only to that of the kings of Scotland. Following on this came the Reformation of 1560, the effect of which was to sever the intellectual life of Protestant Scotland from that of Catholic Ireland. The downfall of the Lords of the Isles was a necessary step towards the real unifying of Scotland. It was a very great blow to Gaelic prestige, and it removed the only force that existed to check centrifugal tendencies among the Gael. The severance from Ireland was by no means an unmixed evil, for the result of it was to emancipate Scottish Gaelic and to produce a new school of poets and a new and fresh style of poetry, headed by Mary Macleod, Màiri Nighean Alastair Ruaidh, who was born in the latter part of the sixteenth century. The growth of this literature was undoubtedly encouraged by the rise of the clan feeling consequent on the fall of the Lords of the Isles. The spirit of this poetry is intensely patriotic, but its *patria* is the clan. I think it may be said that the larger view is to be found only among bards of the Clan Donald, representatives of the spirit of the fallen house. The official view of Gaelic and Gaelic culture during this period of clan activity was hostile. A training in 'Vertew, lernyng and the Inglisch tongue' was the prescription of the Privy Council in 1616, for 'reclaiming the youth from their barbarous rude and incivile formes bred and setled in them in ther youth.' This attitude, however, does not seem to have in any degree led to the discontinuance of the language.

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The second stage in the history of modern Gaelic begins with the change in circumstances brought about by the suppression of the risings of 1715 and 1745.

The new road, of which Dr. Neil Munro has lately written with his usual insight, was the beginning of things as they are now. Steamers, railways, tourists, schoolmasters, newspapers followed to play their part. The Highland chiefs and gentry soon came to abandon Gaelic for English, and to live south of the Highland line when they could. At a Highland banquet held in the early years of the nineteenth century, a call was made for the bards to be brought to the head of the table. 'The bards are gone,' said Macnicol of Scorrybreck. 'No,' said Alastair Buidhe MacIvor, 'but their patrons are gone.' Gaelic had come to be no language for a gentleman. The early Irish churchmen went even further, if Professor John Macneill is right in ascribing to their influence the query of an ancient grammarian: 'Why is he who reads Irish unruly (borb) in the sight of God?' But the language survived the hostility of the early churchmen, and there are not wanting indications at the present time that its day is not yet over.

Mhair i fòs
Is cha téid a glòir air chall
Dh'aindeoin gò
Is mìrun mhór nan Gall.

After this rapid and almost diagrammatic historical survey of the fortunes of the language, I come to the consideration of its present position in some little detail.

First, as to area. If we exclude the large towns, we shall find no Gaelic on the mainland south of Forth and Clyde. In Dumbartonshire and Stirlingshire there is still some spoken around Loch Lomond: West and North Perthshire is largely Gaelic speaking. In parts of Kincardine, Gaelic is not long dead, and it survives still to a small extent in Braemar, and, if I am rightly informed, in Strath Don. The uplands of Banff and Elgin still contain

a few native speakers. The landward part of Nairnshire contains a considerable number. In Argyll, Inverness, Ross and Sutherland one finds the language spoken very generally. Bilingualism of a sort is the rule, with the qualification that on the whole the West Coast man uses Gaelic for his ordinary purposes, though he can speak and read English; the East Coast man is apt to use English, even though he can speak Gaelic. In the Isles Gaelic is the rule. The whole of Lewis, for instance, outside of Stornoway, speaks Gaelic as its native language, though English is making some headway through the schools. The quality of the Gaelic as spoken in these districts varies greatly, and to award the palm to any particular locality would be a risky matter. This much, however, may be said, that the West Coast men and the Islesmen have a much more copious vocabulary than the men on the east, and that they speak with a propriety of idiom and a grammatical accuracy of case, gender and agreement of adjective with noun, to which the easterners cannot lay claim. The latter, in fact, have a tendency to reduce the cases to one and that the nominative, and to dispense with the feminine gender in favour of the masculine. The East Coast man who aspires to speak and write Gaelic correctly has a rather difficult task before him, and it is not without significance that for many years the writers and creators of Gaelic literature have on the whole come from the west, while the critics and formal scholars have been men from the east. The district of Lochaber, which is largely intermediate between east and west, has been eminent both for producers and for critics.

It is an interesting, if somewhat saddening, study to note the effect of the disappearance of Gaelic on the mental habits and equipment of the people. The true native Gaelic speaker has succeeded to a very considerable inheritance. He has got traditionary lore in the form of tale, ballad, proverbial sayings, local history, superstitions and so forth. His district is full of associations to him. The

names of knoll and hollow, well and stone, are to him significant: he has tales to account for them. He has his Gaelic rhymes and songs, and has some knowledge of the poets of his own district. In short, without labouring the point further, the native Gaelic speaker has a very considerable stock of mental pabulum; his mind is far from being either empty or stagnant. To the outsider who knows Gaelic, he is an interesting man. The other day, as I came along the side of Loch Linnhe from Fort William to Onich, I talked with a man who was cutting his grass by the roadside. We spoke in Gaelic. He gave me details of the battle of Inverlochy and the localities connected with it, that could not be found in any book. ‘Ciod e an gleann tha air taobh thall an locha ann a sin?’ I asked him. ‘Tha, gleann a’ Bhlair Bhuidhe.’ ‘An e sin far an robh Fionn gun chomas eirigh no suidhe?’ I asked. ‘Is e sin e,’ he said. ‘Is e famhair bha anns a’ Bhlar Bhuidhe.’ Gleann a’ Bhlair Bhuidhe is on no ordnance map so far as I know. There is a community of thought, a freemasonry among Gael, that makes intercourse with them a very charming thing, a precious privilege, to such as have the good fortune to be of the community. Take, on the other hand, the Highlander who has no Gaelic or little Gaelic. He has missed the inheritance of the Gael, and has never entered on the inheritance of the Saxon. He is flat, dull, and unprofitable; you can wring little or nothing of interest out of him. Such is my experience at least, and I am told by competent observers that on the borders of Wales it is the same. The Welshman of the Welsh-speaking area is infinitely brighter and more interesting than the Welshman who has come to speak English only. There is a marked difference in this way between neighbouring villages. Which of the two, it is worth while asking, is likely to love his countryside better, the man who has Gaelic or the man who has not?

I should like in the next place to give some idea of the present state of Scottish Gaelic from the literary and

scientific points of view. It is sometimes asserted that the literature of Scottish Gaelic is negligible or almost negligible, that it is meagre in amount, and that what there is, is modern and of little value. Talk of this sort can be to a large extent discounted. It is true that beside the mass of English literature, or so-called literature, the total output in Gaelic is meagre. Nor can it compare either in antiquity or in amount even with the literature of Ireland. For the history of the language and for light on early manners and customs and beliefs, we must always have recourse to Irish Gaelic. But there is this to be said in favour of such Gaelic literature as we possess: it is literature. It matters not whether the authors were learned or unlearned, the great bulk of the stuff has the genuine ring. There is genuine artistry in the touches, there is sincerity in the sentiment, there is beauty, sometimes wondrous beauty, in the rhythm. It is simple when you come to look into it and analyse it, but it is a charmed simplicity. It is 'the unelaborate magic of the Celt.' This classic quality is to be found not only in the greater writers, though it is found among them more regularly. It is also found among the lesser and less known. Nor is it confined to poetry. There is a good deal of Gaelic prose which attains a very high level. The late Donald Mackechnie wrote prose which for delicacy and subtlety of phrasing, and for quiet humour of the philosophic sort, was quite equal to Addison. There are alive to-day several writers little, if at all, inferior to him. It may fairly be urged that the quality, at any rate, of Gaelic literature entitles it to consideration and respect. As to the quantity, it is probably larger than many people imagine. But large or small, there is this in it: Gaelic poetry is no empty vapouring, but the wholesome product of the soil, redolent of associations with the places, customs, occupations and persons familiar to the people. Take, for instance, a poem which has given and gives great pleasure to many as well as myself, *Oran na Comhachaig*, 'The Song of the

Owlet,' written probably before 1600 by Donald Finlayson, a Lochaber hunter. It is a gem, or rather a succession of gems, of clean Gaelic thought, quite untouched by outside influences. The universal element is there, but the setting is Lochaber, Lochaber chiefs, Lochaber forays and huntings; the individual mountains and corries from Ben Nevis to Ben Alder; Creag Uanach and Loch Treig. No young man or woman in Lochaber to-day knows that poem; the old people know it, and their faces light up at a verse of it. It is theirs. It is worth countless reams of English poetry to them. From this point, the modernity of Gaelic literature is an advantage. It is not too old to be appreciated. Its appeal is still fresh. There is, however, one great drawback in connection with our Gaelic literature. It is not sufficiently accessible. It is too often badly printed and poorly edited, and, owing to the smallness of the constituency to which they appeal, Gaelic books are apt to be expensive. I shall have something to say on these points later on.

For such scientific critical work as has been done in connection with Scottish Gaelic, we are indebted mainly to native scholars. In this connection a great impetus was given to investigation by one who was himself neither scientist nor Gaelic scholar, namely, James Macpherson, of Ossianic fame. He was not the first great collector, but the way in which he treated his material, the claims of authenticity and antiquity which he made for his productions, and the fierce controversy that raged for many years about the whole matter, forced his defenders and his attackers to strenuous efforts in the way of collecting and of criticising. Collections of heroic Gaelic poetry became quite the fashion; and undoubtedly it is to Macpherson indirectly that we owe the preservation of so much valuable material in, for example, John F. Campbell's great collection of West Highland Tales, and his equally great, but less known, collection of ballads in *Leabhar na Féinne*. The controversy also helped undoubtedly to the attainment of com-

paratively clear views as to the true nature of those ballads, and the methods of dealing with them. A trained student of the present day is in a position to appreciate the exact nature of Macpherson's work in a way that none of his contemporaries did.

Of those who worked at the language three or four names stand out within the last century. The first of these, and in some respects the greatest, was Ewen MacLachlan, born at Coruanan in Lochaber (1775-1822). Apart from his undoubted mastery of Gaelic, MacLachlan was a first-rate classical scholar. Two monuments of his industry and scholarship remain. The first is his work on the Gaelic-English part of the great Highland Society Gaelic Dictionary. The second is his transcript, or rather transliteration, of the sixteenth-century Manuscript, the Book of the Dean of Lismore, an exceptionally difficult piece of work, well done, which at a later date was consulted by Dr. Thomas MacLauchlan in his edition of that book. Ewen MacLachlan lived before real scientific study of language had begun. He had none to guide him. He accomplished much, but with adequate training and longer life he would have been, so far as one can judge, incomparably our greatest Celtic scholar.

Scientific work on the language in the modern sense was begun by Alexander Cameron (1827-1888), born near Kingussie, and best known as Dr. Cameron of Brodick. His work is collected in the two volumes entitled *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, edited after his death by Alexander MacBain and the Rev. John Kennedy, both Badenoch men. He had the makings of a great grammarian and philologist, and in both departments he accomplished useful work. One of his most useful performances is his transcription and transliteration with occasional translation of the Dean of Lismore's book, which marks a very great advance on the edition by Dr. MacLauchlan.

The torch lit by Cameron was carried on by his younger contemporary, Alexander MacBain (1855-1907), born in

Glen Feshie, near Kingussie. MacBain is best known by his great Gaelic Philological Dictionary. It was the first philological dictionary of a Celtic language, and though he was able to utilise the work of Dr. Whitley Stokes and others, that does not detract from the reputation for philological scholarship which is his due. MacBain's Dictionary raised Gaelic philology out of the bog of fanciful conjecture, and set it on a firm scientific basis. His work will assuredly stand the test of time, and, where it needs correction, it takes an uncommonly good man to correct it. MacBain did much besides in the way of grammatical, historical, and antiquarian monograph, all characterised by deep and wide learning and robust common sense. He did particularly good work in connection with Celtic personal names, and Celtic and Norse names of places in Scotland.

I have mentioned these three, Ewen MacLachan, Alexander Cameron, and Alexander MacBain, as the three whose names would occur most readily to one who recalled the native Gaelic scholars of fairly recent times. Many others have done good work on the language, and I should like to mention especially the work of the Rev. C. M. Robertson of Kilchoman, Islay, on the Gaelic dialects. Mr. Robertson fortunately is still with us, and may be expected to contribute still more to our knowledge of Gaelic.

To sum up the points I have been trying to make in this section: Scottish Gaelic possesses a literature which though relatively small is not contemptible, but of value both absolutely and specially for the Gaelic-speaking people. Work has been done on its critical side by native scholars which will compare favourably with the work done by native scholars on any other Celtic language, Irish, Welsh or Breton.

Now I proceed to consider the position of Gaelic educationally in our universities, training colleges, and schools, secondary and elementary. I believe that the first to

suggest the desirability of a Celtic Chair in Scotland was Dr. Samuel Johnson, who would have it placed in St. Andrews, but, as we know, it was not till 1882 that the Chair was established and then not in St. Andrews, but in Edinburgh. Within recent years a Celtic Lectureship has been established in the University of Glasgow. In these universities, then, regular instruction is given in Gaelic, with a view to graduation, and it is naturally recognised as a subject for the Preliminary Examination. Lastly, Gaelic ranks as a possible subject for the Bursary Competitions of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. This is certainly a more creditable state of matters than that which existed thirty years ago, but it compares very unfavourably with the position given to Welsh in the University of Wales, with its three colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff, and with the position given to Irish in the National University, where Irish Gaelic is compulsory for matriculation. Is e farmad a ni treabhadh (It is rivalry that makes ploughing), says the proverb, and there is assuredly much loss to Scottish scholarship in the fewness of professed Gaelic scholars, and in the fewness of the students of Gaelic. There is a lack of the process of iron sharpening iron. We badly want a school of Celtic scholars who would to some extent co-operate and possess the authority and the weight with the public, that can never be attained by one or two isolated men. Perhaps upon the whole the situation is improving, but it is true that at the present time the voice of Gaelic scholarship in Scotland is too weak and too unorganised to have weight with the public against the self-complaisant charlatanism that is the natural outcome of illiteracy.

The position of Gaelic in our schools is most unsatisfactory, and contrasts strongly with the position of Irish Gaelic in Irish schools, Welsh in the schools of Wales, Dutch in S. Africa, French in Canada, and, generally speaking, with the position of native languages other than English all over the British Empire. In Wales, the Welsh

language is taught in every school as a matter of course, and not only so, but it is in many or most cases the medium of instruction. The Welshman who does not know English is, however, considered illiterate. In Ireland, writes Mr. T. W. Rolleston, the Gaelic movement has laid hold of the machinery of the State to an extent that, he thinks, is not generally realised. Irish is taught in 2800 schools to about 170,000 children. The teaching of Irish is helped by a grant of £14,500 a year from Imperial sources. A capitation grant of £5 a head is given for every qualified teacher of Irish turned out by the voluntary training colleges. There are four or five official organisers of Irish Gaelic education, paid by the Irish Board of Education. With us in Scotland, no official encouragement is given even to the reading of Gaelic in districts where it is vernacular. The only recognition of it is in a temporary oral use as a means to the acquisition of English. It is true that it is not actually illegal to teach Gaelic in an elementary school to Gaelic-speaking children. The thing may be done, and, here and there, it is done. But when done, it is done precariously and on sufferance; as a work of supererogation but conveying no merit in the performance. Personally I have long held that such an attitude to Gaelic is unjustifiable on educational grounds, and unfortunate for our interests as a nation. The Gaelic-speaking people of Scotland have done, and are doing, their full share, and more than their share, towards the development and defence of the British Empire, and their ancient and honourable language does not deserve to be the Cinderella of all languages of the Empire.

An important step in the right direction was taken when Gaelic was recognised as a subject for the Intermediate Certificate, and this concession has had some good effect. It must be remembered, however, that this affects only a small number, some seventy or eighty per year, and leaves the elementary schools quite untouched. Further, it leaves the subject at a loose end, for as no paper has yet

been granted on the higher standard, there is no inducement, but rather the opposite, to continue Gaelic beyond the intermediate stage. This aspect of the case is, I believe, being felt strongly in all the schools which are in the way of putting forward candidates for the Intermediate Certificate. It may be urged, and with some force, that qualified teachers are not readily found for the higher standard, and that till qualified teachers are found, it would be a mistake to grant the higher paper. On this argument two observations fall to be made. In the first place, the argument clearly runs in a vicious circle, for the first step towards raising the standard of scholarship in intending teachers and others is to grant the higher certificate. You cannot have properly qualified teachers without raising the standard, and you cannot raise the standard without properly qualified teachers. The practical way of dealing with the problem is, one would imagine, to grant the higher paper now, giving notice that after a certain date a definite qualification will be required from the teacher, as in other subjects of higher instruction. The second observation is that no serious effort or arrangement has so far been made towards securing and training a supply of teachers qualified to teach Gaelic, either in elementary schools or in Higher Grade and Secondary Schools. This is a state of matters that surely deserves the serious consideration of the authorities. It is causing anxiety to most thoughtful people who know the Highlands.

I have already remarked in passing that Gaelic texts are apt to be inaccessible, badly printed and edited and expensive; and now I should like to be a little more definite. I feel sure that much work, worthy of our most competent native scholars, has to be done to remedy this. If we are to have a Scottish Gaelic School, it can be formed only by working at the subject, and here is work to hand. Let me mention some of the things requiring to be done. The great *corpus* of Gaelic poetry contained in John Mackenzie's *Beauties* is out of print and difficult to procure in any

edition. It is a book which in some form or other is indispensable. The only question is whether it would be better to reprint it on its present plan, or to split it up into several volumes, at the same time making the selections fuller and excising a few pieces. This would really amount to printing a library of the Gaelic poets. In any case the print would have to be better, the spelling should be made consistent, the introductions re-written, notes historical and explanatory added when necessary for the understanding of the text and the glossary revised. To do this effectively would require the combined work of several men, but it would be worth doing, and in some form or other it must be done.

Secondly, the two volumes of *Reliquiæ Celticæ* contain much valuable material which should be unearthed, and dealt with as above. In particular the Gaelic text of the Books of Clanranald should be edited separately with all necessary apparatus, as a valuable contribution to the history of Gaelic Scotland.

Thirdly, the contents of the Book of the Dean of Lismore should also be published separately with transcription into the ordinary Gaelic spelling.

Fourthly, J. F. Campbell's *Leabhar na Féinne* contains about 54,000 lines of heroic poetry. The lays or ballads deal with incidents in the life of the heroes, mostly of the Fenian cycle, and two or more versions are usually given. From a careful collation of the versions given in *Leabhar na Féinne*, in *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, Gillies's *Collection*, other collections, and Irish sources, it would be possible to form one standard text of each ballad, and produce a book of genuine heroic ballads, which would be of the utmost interest and value. As it stands, J. F. Campbell's book is almost utterly disregarded, owing not only to its scarceness, but to the manner in which the texts are presented. It seems to me that this is a work that should not be delayed, in the interests of students of comparative folk-lore, and, what is more important, in the interests of the Gaelic people,

who are fast forgetting what their older poetry was like. The Dorian mode of these fine ballads should prove a useful antidote to the plaint and whine and jingle of some modern poetry, Gaelic and English.

These are four pieces of work that seem to me obvious and urgent, and worthy the attention of Gaelic scholars who possess the necessary leisure. This is far from exhausting the requirements. The more Gaelic texts we have the better, provided that they are edited in a competent way.

In Gaelic speech we may still hear the echoes of an ancient Continental language, spoken long before the time of Cæsar. In Scotland, from small beginnings it waxed great, till it filled the land and was the language of the Scottish kings from Kenneth MacAlpin to Malcolm Canmore, and of by far the greater part of Scotland for many centuries after his time. It has shown great vitality, and its vitality is not exhausted, nor has it lost the charm and the romance with which its long history and numerous associations have invested it. Here in Scotland it claims respect and even affection, not only from Highland but also from Lowland Scots, who are after all, in my humble opinion, still Celtic to a far greater extent than they are Saxon.

BOOK REVIEWS

Irish Witchcraft and Demonology. By ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR, B.D. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd.; and London: Humphrey Milford, 1913. Pp. 256. Price 5s. net.

‘Although the volume may furnish little or nothing new to the history or psychology of witchcraft in general, yet it may also claim to be an unwritten chapter in Irish history.’ This claim, made by its author, is fully substantiated by the book itself, which reveals a condition of things in Ireland very similar to that existing in Great Britain, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Within its limits, Mr. Seymour’s book is excellent. But the statement (p. 248) that ‘in the foregoing pages we have endeavoured to trace the progress of witchcraft in Ireland from its first appearance to the present day,’ shows how restricted these limits are. The earliest instance recorded is that of Dame Alice Kyteler, the Sorceress

of Kilkenny, in 1324, and it is assumed that there was little witchcraft in Ireland before the coming of the Normans, or at any rate of the Scandinavians. Early Irish manuscripts, which teem with witchcraft, do not seem to have been consulted at all. There is, for example, the story of Caemóg and Cuillenn *cennruad* and Iarnan, the three daughters of Conarán mac Imideil, a chief of the Tuatha dé Danann, whose characteristics at once recall the witches of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. It is stated that they were 'full of sorcery' (*lán do dhraidecht*). Their appearance as they sat beside the Cave of Keshcorran, in order to take vengeance of Finn for his hunting, is thus described: 'Upon three crooked and wry sticks of holly they hung as many heathenish bewitched hasps of yarn, which they began to reel off left-handwise in front of the cave,' distaff in hand. By this magic yarn they bewitched all the Fianna who came to the cave. Eventually the three were slain by Goll mac Morna. Such instances, although legendary, ought certainly to be considered under 'Irish Witchcraft and Demonology.'

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

Ulster Folklore. By ELIZABETH ANDREWS, F.R.A.I. With Fourteen Illustrations. London: Elliot Stock, 1913. Pp. ix+121. Price 5s. net.

The most striking feature of this book is indicated in the titles of four of its eight chapters, viz. 'Fairies and their Dwelling-Places,' 'Ulster Fairies, Danes, and Pechts,' 'Folklore connected with Ulster raths and souterrains,' and 'Traditions of Dwarf Races in Ireland and in Switzerland.' It is noteworthy that the most recent researches into the twofold question of Ulster souterrains and their builders have been made by ladies. In a paper read by Mrs. Mary Hobson of Belfast before the British Association at Leicester in 1907, descriptive of these underground retreats, the following statements occur: 'The entrances are small, but the tiny doorways between one chamber and another are even of more diminutive dimensions—great numbers being too small to admit the average-sized man—a person having to lie down flat in order to get through, and even then the width will not allow other than the shoulders of a woman or a boy to pass through.' An article on the same subject by this lady, published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (January-June, 1909) adds that the building of these structures 'is nearly always attributed to the "Danes," the "Fairies," the "Good People," or in rare instances to the Picts.' Mrs. Hobson, like most students of this question, is inclined to identify these 'Danes' with the Danaans.

These facts, then, form the substratum of the main argument which Miss Andrews, who is also a resident of Belfast, elaborates in *Ulster Folklore*. Miss Andrews has previously written upon this subject, to which she began to give serious consideration as early as in the year 1894. In various articles, which have appeared in literary and antiquarian periodicals, her views have been set forth; but never with so much fullness as in the volume

now before us. Its genesis is thus recorded by the author in her Introduction: 'In 1894 I was at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford, and had the good fortune to hear Professor Julius Kollmann give his paper on "Pygmies in Europe," in which he described the skeletons which had then recently been discovered near Schaffhausen. As I listened to his account of these small people, whose average height was about four and a half feet, I recalled the description of Irish fairies given to me by an old woman from Galway, and it appeared to me that our traditional "wee-folk" were about the size of these Swiss dwarfs. I determined to collect what information I could, and the result is given in the following pages.' Miss Andrews finds that 'tradition records several small races in Ulster: the Grogachs, who are closely allied to the fairies, and also to the Scottish and English Brownies; the short Danes, whom I am inclined to identify with the Tuatha de Danann; the Pechts, or Picts; and also the small Finns.' It is quite possible, it may be observed, that these several names denote one race, remembered under different aspects.

The great value of the work done by Miss Andrews consists in the fact that it is original. The souterrains and the folklore of Ulster have each passed under her personal observation. With the conclusions which she draws, the present reviewer is substantially in agreement. There exists in Ireland, as in Scotland, a class of underground buildings whose dimensions show that they were made by a smaller race than the average inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland at the present day. How much smaller is a question for further inquiry. But these buildings quite corroborate the traditional belief that a little people, occupying underground houses, once inhabited these islands.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

Heraldry in Scotland, including a Recension of 'The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland,' by the late George Seton, Advocate. By J. H. STEVENSON, Advocate, Unicorn Pursuivant. 2 vols. 4to. Vol. I., xxxi+200 pp.; Vol. II., xiv+134 pp. With thirty-eight full-page plates and ninety-eight illustrations in the text. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, publishers to the University. £4, 4s. net. Edition de Luxe, £10, 10s.

The most practical tribute to the merits of the late Mr. George Seton's *Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland*, and to the attractive nature of its contents, is to be found in the price quoted for a generation past in the booksellers' catalogues. Since it was published, in 1863, materials for a fuller treatment of the subject have accumulated in a remarkable degree, and many points of public interest and importance have emerged, urgently calling for authoritative treatment. That a new edition in some form ought some day to appear was an event foreseen by Mr. Seton, for which indeed he made preparation. He communicated his project and his fresh materials to Mr. Stevenson, whom he invited 'to take the labouring oar as well as all the responsibilities in connection with the preparation of what was to be in

large measure a new work.' In his sub-title the latter indicates the use he has made of his predecessor's performance, and while we realise with something of a pang that the old friend in whose company so many delightful hours were passed is now to be laid aside, it is a consolation to find that all that was of permanent interest in a book so long and so deservedly a favourite, is to be found in Mr. Stevenson's pages. On that gentleman's qualification for the task it is needless to dwell. A genealogical lawyer of established repute, he brings to his task a ripe scholarship, a perfect mastery of detail, a suitable opinionativeness, a dry and biting wit, and a racy and incisive style peculiarly his own. The result is a most valuable addition to the literature of the subject. Heraldry invites discursive treatment. There is hardly a branch of human interest or sentiment on which it does not trench. It is possible here to notice only one or two points of pressing and living interest. The first relates to the misuse of the royal arms in Scotland. The blazon for the kingdom is, 1st and 4th, Scotland, or, a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counterflory gules; 2nd, England, gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or; 3rd, Ireland, azure, a harp or, stringed argent. There is no doubt about the law upon the subject. From the reign of Queen Anne down to and including George II., the seal used by the monarchs of the United Kingdom, under section 24 of the Treaty of Union of 1707, in place of the former great seal of Scotland displays Scotland in the first and fourth quarters. From the accession of George III. to that of his present Majesty, each monarch on succeeding to the throne settled by an act of Privy Council the precedence of the quarterings as they are to be displayed in Scotland, and that order invariably shows Scotland first and fourth. His late Majesty King Edward at an early date in his reign ordered the arms so marshalled to be placed on Balmoral. It is the duty of tradesmen holding warrants of appointment to His Majesty, with authority to use the royal arms, to see to it that those arms are properly marshalled; by the same warrant they are expressly forbidden to fly the royal standard, which ought only to be displayed when the King is present, or on his birthday on his castles and palaces. It is illegal and presumptuous for private persons to display it. The offence has become less common since 16th March 1907, when the Secretary for Scotland issued a circular instructing the police to restrain private individuals from using the royal standard with the quarterings of the three kingdoms. It is of equal importance that the arms when rightfully displayed should be properly quartered, and it is nothing less than a glaring defiance of the law of the land and of the King's orders in Council that the quarterings of the standards on the royal palaces and castles in Scotland, and on the tabards of the Lyon King of Arms and of the Scottish heralds and pursuivants should give England first and fourth, Scotland second, and Ireland third. A common infringement of the law in the present day is the display of the Scottish quartering alone, the lion rampant within the double tressure, an integral part of the royal arms. On 18th June 1907 the Secretary for

Scotland issued a second circular stating that the order of the 16th March did not apply with equal force to the arms of Scotland when flown alone, and that therefore there was no necessity to discourage the display of that flag. 'According to this, any butcher, baker, or candlestickmaker, English, Scottish, or Irish, may fly the three lions of the kings of England, the ruddy lion of Scotland, or the harp which the king bears for the kingdom of Ireland' (Stevenson, 100). Such an order is as Mr. Stevenson observes a direct incitement to break the law of the land. During the late royal visit one would have imagined that there were twenty kings of Scotland resident in Edinburgh, and that their favourite places of abode were haberdashery establishments and taverns. Why legal proceedings, adds Mr. Stevenson, are not instituted against the miscellaneous usurpers of the emblems of royalty passes the comprehension of any herald or historical lawyer.

The jurisdiction of the Lyon office is another subject now claiming attention, and for the benefit of all concerned the law may be shortly stated. The Lyon is the exclusive heraldic authority for Scotland, as the Earl Marshal is for England, and Ulster King of Arms for Ireland. It follows that it is the function of the Lyon Court to issue patents to all the King's subjects of Scottish descent resident in Scotland who have not hitherto borne arms, and to their male representatives wherever they may reside within the British Empire. It is as easy for a man in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, the East or West Indies, who is, in the words of the Act of Parliament of 1672, 'a virtuous and well-deserving person,' to obtain a grant of arms from the Lyon, as it is for a man resident in Scotland or England. So long as a man remains a subject of the King, his right to apply for a grant of arms is in no way impaired by a residence, however prolonged, outwith the British jurisdiction. The procedure is simple. The person desiring a grant of arms presents a petition to the Lyon, generally through the medium of a herald. The petitioner has usually his own ideas as to the arms he desires to bear, and, as Mr. Stevenson observes, such preferences are always respected by the court, when no heraldic objection is to be urged against them. A few simple explanations generally make the position clear, and I do not recall one instance in an experience of thirty years in which there was any difficulty in settling the details of a coat. The statutory fees for an original patent of arms, exclusive of the charge incurred by the patentee to his correspondent, is under £48. A cadet, the descendant of a family already possessing a coat of arms, receives not a patent, but a matriculation. The fees amount to about £16. In a cadet's petition each step of descent from the ancestor whose arms, suitably differenced, he desires to bear, must be set forth, and as the claim must be established by proofs, as a rule only to be found in the national records, the actual costs of a matriculation frequently exceed those of an original grant. It is in the course of establishing such claims that the vicissitudes of families come to light. No romances are half so wonderful as those met

with in actual life. Some time ago I received a letter from a Scots merchant resident for many years in one of the South American republics, intimating his desire to record arms and stating casually that the tradition in his family was that they were descended from King Robert the Bruce. Some astonishing claims reach me from time to time, but I had not hitherto received one quite so startling, and in asking for details I expressed, I fear, little faith in my correspondent's story. A few weeks afterwards I received a table of descent, admittedly imperfect, yet sufficiently detailed to induce me to undertake an inquiry, with the result that the remoter links in my correspondent's ancestry, and incidentally his descent from the Bruce, was proved to demonstration. Months after all was settled, and the claim to matriculate allowed, I discovered, in an East Lothian manse, material which would have saved many weeks of search in the public registers. But then, who would dream of looking for such evidence in such a place? In our Scottish practice, when cadetship is established, even by the subject of a foreign power, *e.g.* by a citizen of the United States of North America, the Lyon will grant a matriculation, the right of blood being inextinguishable. The Lyon may also grant arms to persons not members of armigerous families in England or Ireland who have transferred their domicile to Scotland, and desire to come under the heraldic jurisdiction of that kingdom. Similar powers, of course, are enjoyed by the authorities in England and Ireland. But such cases rarely occur. Men frequently change their domicile; few care to transfer their heraldic allegiance. The Lyon is unable to give a grant to an alien without a royal warrant, confined in practice to foreigners who are granted heraldic honours for distinguished public services. When, therefore, a subject of a foreign jurisdiction, but of Scottish extraction, desires to have a patent of arms, it is necessary to procure the Scottish representative of the family to record, when the foreigner may come in as a cadet.

The differencing of cadets is a subject of the first importance in Scotland. The permanency of the old families and the closeness of the clan tie is a feature in our history which compels attention the moment we enter the heraldic field. The late Mr. George Burnett, Lyon King, estimated that in the official record of arms in Scotland from 1672, being the date of the commencement of the modern register, to 1888, the entries for Campbell, Hamilton, Stewart, and Scott comprised about a ninth, and if Murray, Douglas, Hay, Graham, Mackenzie, Drummond, Grant, Forbes, Cunningham, and Fraser were added, a fourth of the entire register. In such a state of affairs an organised system of difference is of vital importance. The bordering system devised by the late Mr. Robert Riddle Stodart, Lyon Clerk Depute, elaborated by the present Lyon in his *Heraldry in relation to Scottish History and Art*, may, for all possible demands upon it, be regarded as complete. Mr. Stevenson's objection that such a system is not applicable to coats originally bordured does not strike us as of great force. Principal coats with bordures are so few in number that they may be dis-

regarded in the adoption of a system of great general convenience, even if there were not a dozen different methods of differencing open to the herald in dealing with the exceptions. As a universal system the bordure in a double sense holds the field. In the case of new grants Mr. Stevenson questions whether it is proper to grant any portion of an existing coat armorial to an applicant because he happens to bear a particular surname. It is usual in the case of a new grant to give an indication of the clan to which the applicant belongs, and as Mr. Stevenson admits that it is possible for heraldic wit to design a coat which, while indicating a family or clan, yet leaves the bearer an 'indeterminate distance' from the head of the house, it seems better to continue the old practice and retain a generic coat for all of a surname. The subject of supporters may be dismissed in a few words. Excluding the orders of knighthood there are four classes of persons in Scotland entitled to that distinction: peers, heirs-male of persons who had a right of barony prior to 1587, chiefs of clans, and, lastly, families who can prove usage prior to 1672. Claims are made from time to time by representatives of each of the four classes, and it is certain, notwithstanding the view of some authorities, that many of those entitled to the distinction have not yet recorded. With our author's views that supporters are inventions of the engraver, and that no alteration in them ought to be made without the sanction of the heraldic authority, we are not in the least inclined to agree. Linlithgow herald may be added to the list of officers whose titles suggest more immediate connection with the Crown, and in this connection it is permissible to express the hope that the noble edifice fired by Hawley and his gallant troopers, and left to lie waste by the criminal negligence of subsequent generations, may yet be restored to its pristine glory, and made worthy of a monarch's residence. The work is exquisitely printed, it is beautifully—even lavishly—illustrated, and I venture to prophesy for it the same happy bibliographical fate encountered by Mr. Seton's *Law and Practice*.

ANDREW ROSS, *Ross Herald*.

The Voices of Gaelic Genius

Modern Anglo-Irish Verse. An anthology, selected from the works of living Irish poets by PADRIC GREGORY. London: David Nutt. 6s. net.

In his introduction to this delightful anthology Mr. Gregory explains his method of selection. He has included living writers only, and a few are not represented for two reasons—(1) because some would not allow him to make his own choice from their work, and (2) because others are bound by agreement with their publishers not to appear in any anthology for a fixed period. The editor is thus at once a courageous and unfortunate man. Withal, he is an excellent critic and book maker, for he has produced an anthology which is at once original and full of variety. He does not range his poets in order and print their poems together in the ordinary way, but adopts the better method of forming groups of poems of similar character by different

authors, so that the reader is enabled to feel the cumulative force of Irish sentiment and artistic expression in various aspects of life and thought.

Mr. Gregory does not overrate the English songs of his native land. 'Though Ireland,' he writes, 'has given to the world the work of many men and women since first the English language was forced on our forebears, not one of her poets, expressing himself in English, can compare with the world's greatest masters; and the work of but very few can compare favourably in sublimity of thought, in beauty of expression, or in subtlety of craftsmanship with that of the major English poets.' That may be. But one cannot help feeling, after perusing this collection, that neither England nor Scotland could provide so charming a volume of contemporary verse. Modern Irish poetry betrays outside influences; here we catch an echo of the Scottish ballad and there of an English master. But the work performed is not merely imitative. The Irish singers strike a distinctive note, and if they have felt the influence of others, they are giving much in return and especially what is truly Irish. The artificial theme, the insincere pose, the love of technique for technique's sake, and other decadent tendencies which characterise so much modern English verse, are happily rare in this volume. If Irish poetry lacks sublimity, it possesses, to a pronounced degree, colour and mood and music. It is not like cold chiselled marble severely correct, but resembles rather fruit—blossom and berry—and wildflower, which in our hearts we prefer before sculptured images of natural beauty. The Irish singer is an impressionist; he is never concerned much about verbal gymnastics; his voice flutes naturally and bird-like, and his theme is tinted with frank, sincere emotion. We feel the mood, because it has really been felt by the poet, and the truest art is that which is the most effective medium of a mood. Not a few accomplished English poets extinguish mood by too sedulous attention to what they call 'form.'

One can open this volume anywhere and find poetry which is at once truly Irish and truly poetic. There is no straining after effect, no weak clinging to the themes of the masters who sang in well-kept English gardens and on smooth English lawns. Beauty is found everywhere and anywhere. Helen Lanyon sings:—

Over the dim windows a rose is running riot,
And the weed grows golden on the ragged thatch.

It is only from Ireland that such a bird song as 'Danny O'Shane,' by the same fresh-voiced lyrist, could have come in these days:—

When Danny O'Shane had milked the cows
An' stabled the ass in the wee ass-byre,
He would come singing up to the house
With a creel o' peat to mind the fire.
An' stoopin' his head to the lintel low
In the name o' God he would wish me well:
An' his voice would come ringing rich and low
An' swing in my heart like a silver bell.

The poets of Ireland are likely to accomplish a revolution in English literature. Here we have new voices and new faces, among others that have grown dear to us already, and they are giving the new movement additional strength and beauty. It would seem that, in the New Age they are all ushering in, the clean bog-scented winds of Gaelic genius will blow out of English poetry the cobwebs and dust with which it has become encumbered, and, like the winds of Spring, thaw the cold ice which is lying on the neglected wells of ancient inspiration.

DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

Deirdire and the Lay of the Children of Uisne. Orally collected in the Island of Barra, and literally translated by ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL, LL.D. Paisley : Alexander Gardner ; London : Kenneth Mackenzie ; and Dublin : Hodges, Figgis and Co. 3s. 6d. net.

An ancient theme and 'the touch of a vanished hand.' One lifts this volume reverently, thinking of the dead bards, who, generation after generation, sang of Deirdire, and of the lately departed lover of the Gael and Gaelic literature who rescued what we find here and so much else besides from oblivion. Dr. Carmichael was one of our greatest collectors, and was also a great translator. Many of his English lines have haunting beauty, and all have Biblical simplicity and directness ; they also retain much of the spirit of the original Gaelic. The following are examples :—

His skin was like the foam of streams,
Like quiet waters was his voice.

Like the springtide's violent flood
Was he in battle at strife of swords.

Three sons of a king who helped the helpless,
To-day without speech on the bank of the grave.

His prose is of equal purity and strength. This version, taken down in Barra by Dr. Carmichael, is the only oral version of the great tale which has been found, and the late Alfred Nutt, perhaps one of the foremost judges of folklore, described it as the best Gaelic folk-tale ever recorded. In this new edition of an Anglo-Gaelic classic, in which story and lay are given in the two languages, there are additional notes, contributed at the collector's request by his son-in-law, Professor W. J. Watson. The charming frontispiece is a poetic impression of Deidire by Mr. John Duncan, A.R.S.A. This volume should be on the shelf of every Celtic student.

D. A. M'K.

Irish Literary and Musical Studies. By ALFRED PERCEVAL GRAVES. London : Elkin Mathews. 6s. net.

Father O'Flynn is so well and so long established a classic that not a few people imagine its author 'abode his destined hour and went his way'

many years ago. Happily, Mr. Graves is still with us. Although he is now one of the 'grey poets,' he resembles the inhabitants of the Celtic kingdom of the young 'where no wasting comes with the wasting of time' when he takes up his pen, which he wields in prose and verse with all his old-time vigour and charm. This delightful volume of essays is the harvest of about half a century of literary activity. It opens with a chapter of reminiscences of Tennyson in Ireland. He shows that the great poet came under the spell of Celtic poetry, and was an enthusiastic admirer of Macpherson's *Ossian*. It was due to Mr. Graves' sending him a copy of Dr. Joyce's *Old Celtic Romances* that Tennyson wrote his 'Voyage of Maeldune.' The biographer notes in this connection, 'By this story he intended to represent in his own original way the Celtic genius, and he wrote the poem with a genuine love of the peculiar exuberance of the Irish imagination.' Mr. Graves would have preferred if Tennyson had selected for his theme instead 'Oisín in Tir-nan-óg.' On the other hand, Tennyson was as anxious that Mr. Graves should write a poem on an incident in which he himself figured during his Irish visit. Mr. Graves is never more attractive as a literary critic than when he writes of men like James Clarence Mangan, Sir Samuel Ferguson, William Allingham, Edward Bunting, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, George Petrie, and Dr. Joyce, all of whom are dealt with in this volume. In his study of Celtic Nature Poetry he displays noteworthy skill as a translator. His rendering of Finn's song contains lines which are remarkably faithful in spirit and manner to the original:—

Dull red the fern ;
 Shapes are shadows ;
 Wild geese mourn
 O'er misty meadows.

As Dr. Douglas Hyde says of Mr. Graves in another connection, 'Neither Callanan nor Mangan could have caught the Irish tone and conception more truly than this.' When Mr. Graves is at his best it is a very high best. The following is from his rendering of 'Columcille's Farewell':—

The sound of the wind in the elms, like the strings of
 A harp being played,
 The note of a blackbird that claps with the wings of
 Delight in the glade.

Of like felicity, too, is his version of the 'Lament of the Old Woman of Beare,' the beautiful Irish poem based on the legend of the Celtic mother-goddess:—

Isles of the sea, to you 'tis sweet
 Again to greet the flooding brine ;
 After my seventh ebb I know
 Time's joyous flow shall not be mine.

The smallest place that meets my eyes
 I cannot recognise aright,
 What was in flood with flowing store
 Is all in ebb before my sight.

Mr. Graves' volume will be welcomed by Celts everywhere, and will make appeal also to all students of literature. To those who would like to know something of the forces which lie behind the modern Gaelic movement, it will reveal a dazzling treasure-house of poetic splendour and inspiration. The author is a trustworthy and accomplished guide and expositor, and the readers whom he introduces to the Celtic 'Otherworld' will associate with their impressions of it the memory of his genial and stimulating companionship.

D. A. M'K.

Gille A'Bhuidseir: The Wizard's Gillie and other Tales. Edited and translated by J. G. MACKAY. London: Saint Catherine Press, Oswaldestre House, 34 Norfolk Street, Strand, W.C. 2s. 6d. net.

Ten of the unpublished tales collected by the late Mr. J. F. Campbell of Islay are here issued for the first time to the public. They are translated into clear and concise English, and the original Gaelic is given. One of the most interesting of the tales is the 'little historical piece' about Donald Caol Cameron, the cattle lifter. 'This Donald Caol used to roam far and wide between the cat country, *i.e.* the country of Mackay, and the most northerly part of the shire of Ross.' On one occasion he set forth with his brother-in-law, Donald Ban, towards Assynt, and there secured a few cattle. The couple were pursued by twelve men and a captain, and when they were crossing a river in the dusk, hanging on to the tails of the swimming cows, Donald Ban was killed by an arrow. Donald Caol afterwards discharged an arrow against the Assynt captain and slew him, whereupon his followers lost courage. 'Donald Caol turned him about again, and cutting off Donald Ban's head with his dirk, put it in a bag that he had on his back in which he was carrying bread. He then went cheerfully off with the cattle, while the Assynt men returned home without cattle or captain.' This is a fragment of an exceedingly ancient story.

Herodotus (II. 121) gives a version in which the thieves are brothers. They robbed the treasury of Pharaoh Rhampsinitus, and one was caught in a snare. The other cut off his brother's head, so that it might not be known who the robbers were. Pausanias (IX. 37) relates a similar tale regarding the treasury of Hyrieus in Orchomenus. The two brothers are Trophonius and Agamedes, and the latter is decapitated. There are other European versions, as Grimm and Campbell have noted. A Tibetan version has an uncle and a nephew. The couple were engaged in housebreaking, and made a hole in a wall. Then the uncle thrust his feet in, but was seized by the people in the house. To prevent detection, which would have brought ruin to the whole family, the nephew cut off the head of his kinsman and escaped

with it. A similar story is told in India, and a notable incident in it appears in the Gaelic tale of 'The shifty Lad' given by Campbell of Islay. The 'shifty lad' cuts off the head of a confederate also, and the king made arrangements similar to those credited by Herodotus to the Egyptian monarch with purpose to catch the escaped thief.

Evidently, 'Donald Caol Cameron' is a fragmentary version of a wide-spread tale. It, however, contains an incident which is peculiar to it. After Donald cuts off his brother-in-law's head he hears spirits calling from the trees. One says, 'Donald Caol! drop the head!' and another, 'He must not drop the head.' It is added, 'Donald could not be certain whether the spirit was that of the head that he had on his back, or that of the Assynt man into whose breast he had shot the arrow.' Mr. Mackay notes that uruigs and fairies in other tales give similarly conflicting advice to human beings. The belief involved apparently connects fairies with the spirit world, and further evidence of like character is attained from stories about green ladies who are ghosts of some people guilty of some crime, or slain before the appointed time.

All the stories in this volume have features of interest to students of comparative folklore and folk-beliefs. There are several illustrations, but the Gaelic fairies in these are too small, and some are wrongly given wings. In Scotland the 'wee folk' had many forms. Sometimes they had, like the 'Red Smith,' one arm, one leg, and one eye, but invariably they were indistinguishable from human beings, except in stature and attire. In more than one story the fairy is detected when her clothing is grasped, and found to be as unsubstantial as that of a ghost. Mr. Mackay's notes are always suggestive and illuminative.

D. A. MACKENZIE.

The Highland Clearances

The History of the Highland Clearances. By ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. With new introduction by IAN MACPHERSON M.P. Stirling: Æneas Mackay. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Thirty-one years have elapsed since Mr. A. Mackenzie published his book on the Clearances. It included Donald MacLeod's 'Gloomy Memories,' the first part of which was issued in 1841. In this new edition the 'Memories' are omitted 'out of considerations for space, and because it is proposed to print them shortly in separate form.' Variety is given, on the other hand, by the inclusion of the defence of the Clearances by Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which is followed by Donald MacLeod's reply. Another vindication of the evictions is from the pen of Mr. James Loch, chief factor of the Sutherlandshire estates. Included here also are extracts from *Memorabilia Domestica*, by the Rev. Donald Sage, whose word-pictures of the Clearances are of vivid character. Other writers on the subject include General Stewart of Garth and Hugh Miller, and their evidence, with the expressions of opinions on the eviction policy by Sir Walter Scott, Dr.

Alfred Russel Wallace, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and others, impart to the book a considerable degree of historical value. The various counties dealt with are Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, Argyll, Bute, and Perth. A fresh contribution on the Breadalbane evictions is extracted from the recently published book of reminiscences by Mr. Duncan Campbell, late editor of the *Northern Chronicle*. This volume is clearly printed on good paper and well bound.

NOTE

Gaelic Inscriptions

When the Commissioners on the Forfeited Estates proceeded with their various erections in the Highlands, inscriptions commemorative of their zeal were incised on bridges, dwelling-houses, etc. The great change in the sentiments of those in high quarters with regard to the Gaelic language can be discovered in their hearty acceptance in 1770 [?] of the following Gaelic inscription with English equivalents:—

‘1. *For the Church at Callander:*

Agus rinneadh am Focal 'n a fheoil, agus ghabh se comhnuidh n' ar
Measg-ne (Eoin, i. 14. 1767 Ed.).

And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us.

2. *For the Prison at Cromarty:*

Chum Dioghaltais air luchd Dheanam an uile.
For the punishment of evildoers.

3. *For the Inn at Dalchonzie:*

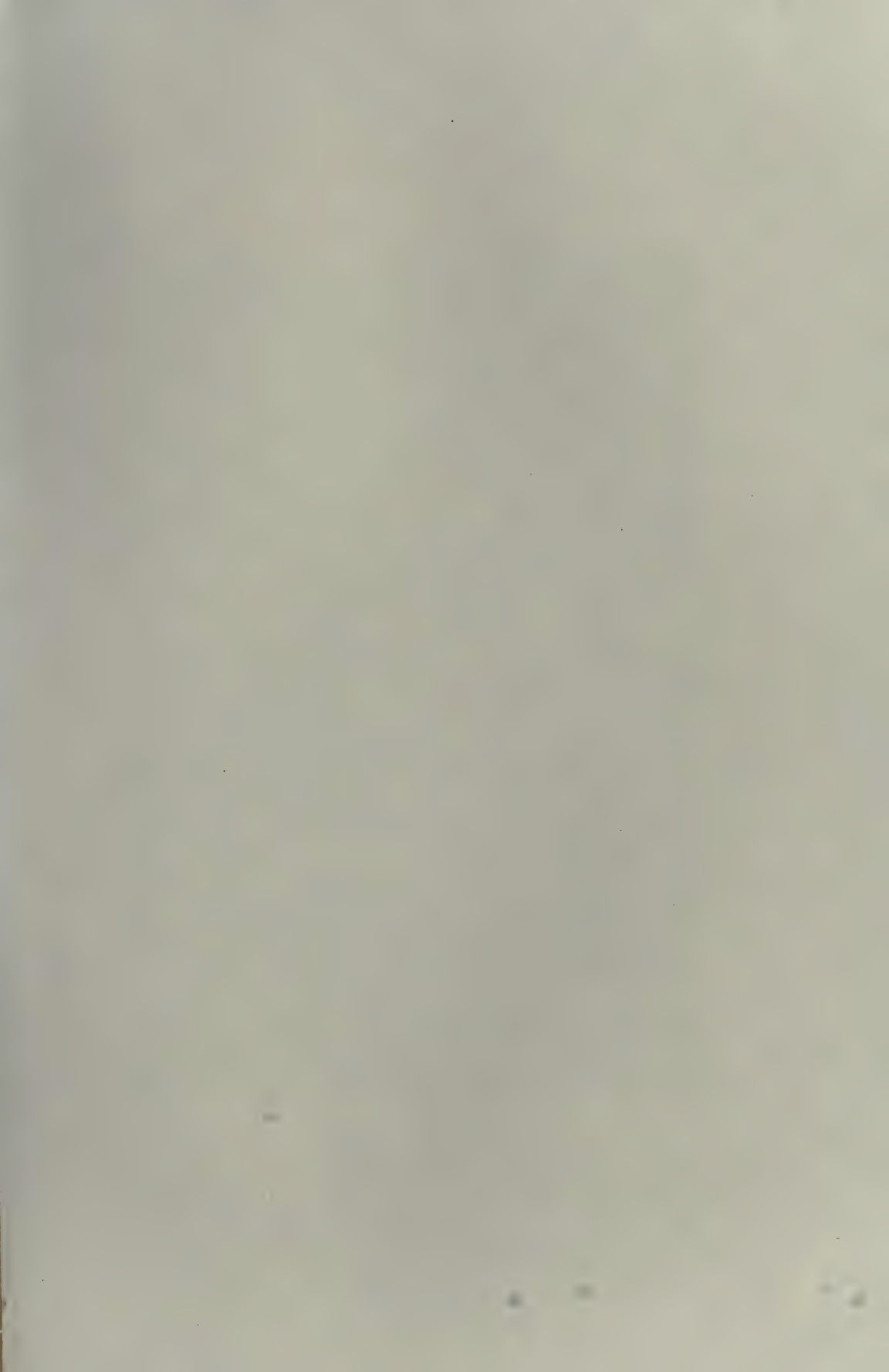
Aoidheachd a thoirt do choighrich.
To entertain strangers.

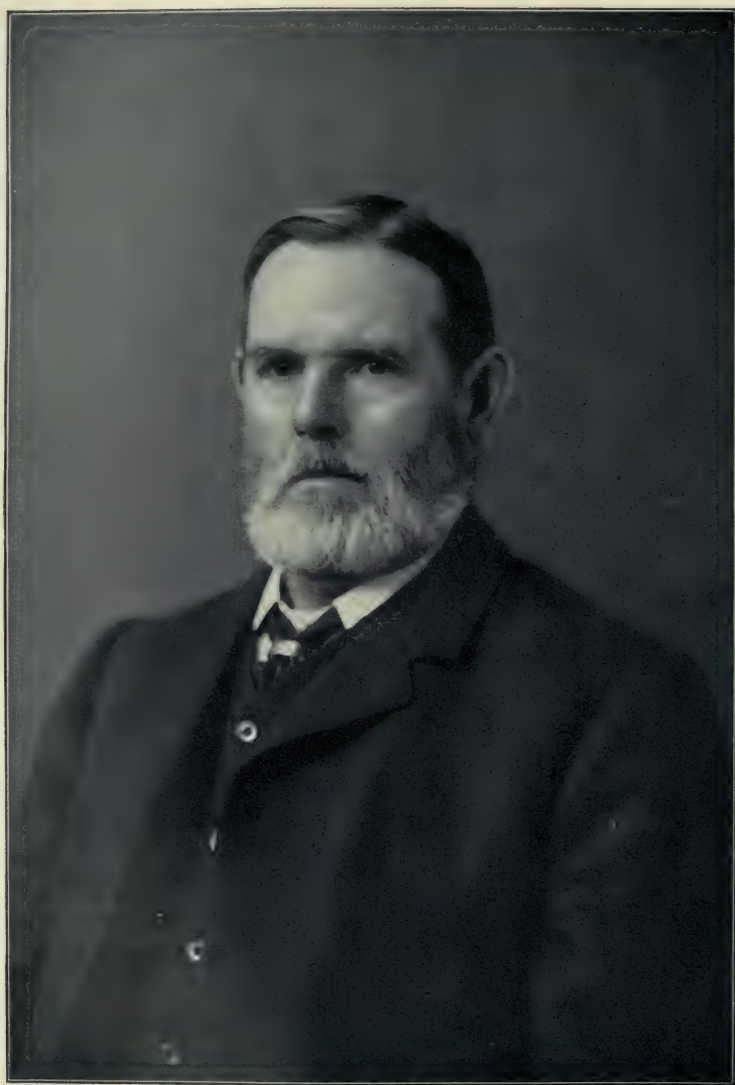
4. *For the Inn at Dalnacardoch:*

Gabhaif Fois car tamuill bhig.
Rest a little while.

These inscriptions, which were found among the MS. Forfeited Estates Papers, are given exactly as originally written. To them the unknown author appends the following note: ‘I have put the Erse inscriptions in the Roman characters for the benefit of the unlearned Readers.’ This is of some historical interest as showing that there were still ‘learned people who could freely use the Old Celtic script. Alexander MacDonald and his son Ranald regularly used the old characters. It points out on the other hand that to the ‘unlearned’ many the old characters were unintelligible. Even in Kirke’s time that was true; for it was their inability to benefit by Beddell’s Bible that urged the good and zealous Kirke to have it printed in Roman characters. With the appearance of Kirke’s Bible the use of the old characters was doomed.

D. MACLEAN.





Yrs faithfully
Son. Mackinnon

THE CELTIC REVIEW

JUNE 1915

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

REV. DONALD LAMONT

WITHIN a certain range Professor Mackinnon was undoubtedly the most learned and accurate Gaelic scholar that Scotland has yet produced. His knowledge of Scottish Gaelic and of the works of Gaelic writers was unrivalled. In almost all departments of Celtic studies his reading was extensive and his knowledge sound, but within his own field of Scottish Gaelic he had no equal.

My title to write about him is that I knew him for more than twenty years, first, as a student in his classes, and afterwards, more intimately. In the class-room his work was done with the same carefulness and thoroughness with which he did everything that he took in hand, but it was in conversation with him in his study that one first became aware of the extraordinary extent and variety of his knowledge and the soundness of his understanding. He was a good talker, but only in his own study and to congenial friends would he open the stores of his ample mind. In the general conversation of a mixed company he did not shine, being naturally of a shy and retiring disposition, and, indeed, he had no love for social gatherings of any kind and entered them as rarely as possible. But no man could be more accessible and hospitable at his own fireside. There he was at his best, and if you had enough interest

and intelligence to draw him on his own particular subject you were sure to be rewarded with an easy flow of genial and scholarly talk that was both informative and illuminating. He had an orderly mind and a retentive memory and the gift of clear exposition, and whatever the subject under discussion was, whether a point of Gaelic grammar or diction, or a place-name, or anything pertaining to the language and literature and history of the Highlands, he could always bring up without effort out of his great store of knowledge all the facts and other data which were relevant to the matter at issue. One has only to read his *Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and Elsewhere in Scotland*, to see that Professor Mackinnon had a background of knowledge such as no other scholar, living or dead, possessed within the field of Gaelic literature and history and lore covered in that book. But although the width and accuracy of his knowledge appear in everything he wrote, the full extent of his learning was only known to his friends who had the privilege of getting the ripe fruits of his scholarship in his talk or by letters from him.

Besides being a master in his own subject his general knowledge, particularly of literature and history, was sound. Sound rather than extensive is the right word. His general reading, though not extensive beyond that of the ordinary man of bookish tastes, was well meditated, and he had the intellectual habit of reflecting on everything he read. He had a distinguished career as a student in Edinburgh University, obtaining class prizes for Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Moral Philosophy, English literature, and finishing his career with a First Class in Philosophy and the Hamilton Fellowship—one of the highest distinctions which the University has to offer. It is rather curious that although he specialised in philosophy in his student days the subject ceased to attract him in later life, and he read scarcely anything in that line. He even used to speak of metaphysics as an eternal grind of

words, being pretty much of the same opinion as the man who wittily defined metaphysics as a game in which a blind-folded person searches in a dark room for a black cat which is not there. History, particularly Scottish history, was in his latter years his favourite field of study outside his professional work. But in his leisure hours he read a good deal of fiction, and no man that I have ever known knew so intimately as he did the works of Dickens and Scott. He could tell you offhand everything about Jane Dibabs and Horatio Peltirogus, and Bapps, and Tinkler, and Bulph, and all the other obscure worthies in Dickens.

Professor Mackinnon stood midway between the older race of Gaelic scholars and the modern school, and he combined in himself the best of both. He had the liberal Gaelic culture of the one and the scientific spirit of the other. The old race of Highland gentlemen, lay and clerical, who kept alive the torch of Gaelic learning deserve better treatment than they sometimes receive from their successors. Their work, no doubt, had the defects of their age, and the application of scientific methods to Gaelic study has resulted in their being superseded as authorities. But at the same time, from the point of view of literary culture and learning in the best sense, these men were far superior to the critics who poke fun or malice at them. If they sometimes philologised by the ear and guessed where knowledge failed, they at least could read their Gaelic texts as Macaulay read his classics, like a gentleman and a man of the world. They could put their feet on the fender and read Mac Mhaighstir Alastair and Iain Lom without a dictionary. They knew the language and could express their thoughts in it with ease and freedom ; they knew also their own people, their modes of thought, their manners and customs, their history, their oral literature, and their traditions. And after all, there is surely some value in this. More perhaps than in being able to write a tremendously learned little footnote on a preposition. It is possible for a man to have a great deal of interesting and

useful information on the relative pronoun in Gaelic and yet to remain almost illiterate from the standpoint of Gaelic literary culture and humane learning. All this leads up to what I was going to say about Professor Mackinnon, that although the mere grammarians and gerund grinders could tell him very little that he did not know before they discovered it, he had this advantage over them, that he was a great Gaelic humanist as well as a scientific grammarian. In his scholarship there was nothing that was merely pedantic or priggish; like the man it was broad and substantial. He knew the whole field of Gaelic literature with a deep and generous intimacy, and he was conversant not only with all that was ascertainable about the lives and works of Gaelic authors but also with a great mass of unwritten history and tradition about older workers and scholars in the Celtic field, their views, their judgments, their obiter dicta, and so on. He had known personally many of the older generation of Gaelic scholars, men like Dr. M'Lachlan, J. F. Campbell of Islay, W. F. Skene, Dr. Cameron of Brodick, Dr. Clerk of Kilmallie, and Sheriff Nicolson, and by converse with these, and through them with an older generation, he became the repository of a great deal of literary and other lore that cannot now be found in books. About the time he was appointed to the Celtic chair he was engaged in collecting material for a new edition of Reid's *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*. That project, however, fell through, but although the material for the work was afterwards collected by another man who was highly competent for it, one must regret that Professor Mackinnon did not carry out his original plan and incorporate with Reid's work the great mass of interesting and relevant information which he possessed on the subject. Still better would it have been if he had written a text-book of Gaelic literature, historical and critical. His broad and comprehensive knowledge, combined with a cultivated taste and sound literary judgment, would have made such a book one of rare merit and weight.

To many people it was a disappointment that he did not publish more than he did. But although his printed works are not so inconsiderable as many people imagine, yet one could wish that he had written more, for there was never any danger of his over-writing himself. But one knows also the reasons why he was comparatively unprolific as an author. He was naturally not the kind of man who is the friend of printers and publishers. He was fastidious, and carried the art of self-criticism to a degree that made him diffident and self-conscious. This may have been a fault, but at any rate it originated in a high sense of the dignity of scholarship and learning.

There was nothing in him of what some one has called the *prowling* faculty, a base habit of mind which makes the end of study publication and not learning. Professor Mackinnon was content to know without its being known that he knew. He read and acquired knowledge because he wanted to know about a subject which interested him and not because he wanted to write a book or an article about it. He worked among his books without ulterior aims of performance or profit. He had no itch for popular applause and studiously kept himself free from the distractions and labour of ephemeral composition and hack-work into which a man in his position might easily have been drawn.

Apart from a series of articles on the Place-Names of Argyll, which he published in the *Scotsman*, and occasional papers in the same newspaper—generally the substance of Introductory Lectures which he was in the habit of giving to the Celtic Class at the beginning of the session—his printed English matter has appeared mainly in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* and in the *Celtic Review*. To the *Transactions* he contributed two informing articles on Gaelic Dialects and the Fernaig Manuscript. This collection of Gaelic poetry, which is one of the most important texts of older Gaelic, and extends to over four thousand lines of poetry on various subjects and by different

authors, was transcribed in whole by him and transliterated and annotated in part. Since then the entire collection has been printed in *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. ii., two-thirds of the transcription which appears there having been done by Dr. Cameron of Brodick, and the remainder by the editors of his papers. But although the Fernaig Collection has received a good deal of attention from various hands there is still wanting a good modernised and critical text of it. But whoever undertakes to supply this want will have the advantage of being able to check his own findings by the specimens which are available of transliterations done by such men as Professor Mackinnon, Dr. Cameron, and Dr. George Henderson.

When the *Celtic Review* was started in July 1904, Professor Mackinnon's name appeared on the cover as Consulting Editor, and while his relation to it was strictly what it was described on the cover to be, yet the authority of his name, and the large amount of solid matter which he contributed to it, helped in no small degree to establish this quarterly. Almost all his work in old Gaelic was done for it, the most important being a text and translation, with introduction and notes, of the Glenmasan Manuscript, and a text and translation of the Gaelic version of the Thebaid of Statius. In the *Celtic Review* he also printed, with some historical and topical notes, some unpublished poems of Alexander M'Donald (Mac Mhaighstir Alastair) from MS. LXIII. in the Advocates' Library Collection of Gaelic MSS., of which he had given an account some years before in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*. Other articles by him in the *Celtic Review* dealt with points of Gaelic grammar and orthography, such as Aspiration in Scottish Gaelic, the Dual number, the Neuter gender, the use of accents and apostrophes, and so on. He also wrote careful and discriminating notices of some deceased authors and scholars, as well as occasional notices of books, the fullest among the latter being a review of Dr. Gillies's *Place-Names of Argyle*, a subject on which he had worked long and with

which he was more than ordinarily competent to deal. This particular review gives one an exceedingly good impression of Professor Mackinnon's manner and habit of mind. One could not sit long in his class without learning that nothing so quickly upset him as discursiveness, and irrelevancy, and the play of fancy where knowledge failed. Towards ignorance, however stark and unashamed, he was always tolerant, but not towards dilettantism, or pretentiousness, or the affectation of knowing what one did not know. He had an orderly mind himself; it was simply impossible for him to be irrelevant on any theme that he spoke or wrote on, and he perhaps set a higher standard in this respect than frail student nature is capable of reaching. Not the least amusing part of his talk was his reminiscences of students that plagued his professorial life by wordiness and a facility for writing nonsense, and it was difficult for him to modify afterwards his judgment of any one who in his class gave irrelevant answers to questions.

For some years before he was appointed to the Celtic Chair he did a good deal of work for the *Gael*, particularly a series of articles in Gaelic on the subject of Gaelic Proverbs, and another series on various phases of Gaelic literature. I think I can recognise his hand also in other articles of a slighter nature that are to be found in the same periodical, both English and Gaelic. These critical articles written in Gaelic are of high merit, both in their manner and in their matter. The great merit of his prose style is the ease with which he could express in idiomatic Gaelic ideas and modes of thought that were not familiar to the Gaelic world. He often said to the present writer that it was as easy for him to express his thoughts on any subject in Gaelic as in English. Reading these papers it is remarkable to observe how little the orthographical rules which he followed at that early date differed from the settled conclusions of his later years. In the matter of orthography there is probably more eccentricity and lack of uniformity among the hierarchy of Gaelic scholarship as well as among the general

ruck of Gaelic writers than in any other matter. But here as in everything else Professor Mackinnon was eminently sane. He advised all Gaelic writers to master the present standard of orthography before they began to print. That standard, no doubt, has its faults but in any case there it is, framed hundreds of years ago, handed down by the older scholars, and in the main adhered to in the Scriptures and by the better class of writers. If writers would only adhere to the orthography of the Revised Gaelic Scriptures, avoid localisms and the elision of letters as far as possible, and keep beside them MacBain's Dictionary to keep them right on doubtful forms, they would not go far wrong.

Among the unpublished papers of Professor M'Kinnon there is a great deal of lexicographical material. He collected this assiduously ever since he began to teach in the University. Students from all parts of the Highlands came into his classes, so that he had peculiar opportunities for collecting such material. He was always on the hunt for it, and whenever a student furnished him with some rare word, or rare use of a word, down it went at once into his notebook, and from there was transferred into his interleaved copy of the *Highland Society's Dictionary*. I always understood from him that the History of Argyle and the Isles which he undertook to do was in a forward state of preparation; indeed, that it was finished except one chapter, but that one the most difficult to write.

In private life Professor Mackinnon was the most hospitable and genial of men. He liked to have his friends coming to see him for talk and a game of whist. You had very little chance of winning the rubber against him, but that did not matter. You had the talk and that was always the best of it. He had a very keen sense of humour and could say the funniest things in what was apparently a grim and serious vein; also, he could size up a person's character in a moment. With mere bores, especially if they had a grievance against the Halls of Learning, he was not particularly

patient, but who can ever forget his patience with other odd characters who used to find their way to him or forget the droll reflections which he was wont to utter in their hearing? I never knew a man less fussy or less desirous of having his finger in every pie; he had a natural bent towards leisurely reflection and contemplative repose, and shrank with horror from public appearances and speech-making. The Gaelic world did not always understand this side of him. No movement to advance the cause of the language or the people of the Highlands ever failed to elicit his sympathy and support, but he preferred to give these in other ways than by appearing on a platform. He was not a ready speaker and constitutionally was unfitted for public propaganda. But he was a true patriot, manly and honest and independent. Nothing so quickly roused him as the sneers of outsiders at our people and their tongue, except perhaps the spectacle of vain-glorious people of various sorts exploiting his countrymen and their language for their own advantage and aggrandisement.

Equal to his great knowledge was his modesty. He was the most unassuming and unaffected of men, entirely free from vanity about his own work and accomplishments and free also from jealousy of other workers. He was simple in all his tastes and habits, generous and kind. Swagger, whether social or intellectual, was abhorrent to him. Nobody could doubt his sagacity or his wisdom, and one always felt that one's thoughts were clarified and decision became easier if one had talked things over with Professor Mackinnon.

Taken all in all he was our biggest man in the Gaelic world, although he knew it not.

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(Continued from page 39)

GAELIC TEXT

DALA imorro ¹ nan Grec.² Ro chomergedar reompo can suan ³ can sadaili ⁴ illo nan ⁵ aidchi; 7 ger ua imda derb-airdeda ⁶ doirrthi ⁷ 7 figrad ⁸ fir-uile doib ni ro ⁹ thoirmisc iad, 7 fa ¹⁰ moidi fich fergi na fir-laeach gach celmaine condtrachta da chuiread daib no go rangadar co sruth sir-alaind srib-uaine Assopus, i tir na Tiauannda. Ro ansat-sam gan ¹¹ dul tairisin ¹² fochetoir, uair ba h-adbul a thuili 7 a thondgar in t-srotha in n-uair sin,¹³ ar cur breachta druad do Baich fair .u. do dea ¹⁴ in n-ina.¹⁵ Is and sin tanic Ipomedon feochoir fergach 7 ro gres a eochu is in n-ath res na sluagaib 7 ¹⁶ ro raid riu: ¹⁶ 'Is metacht 7 is midlochus daib ¹⁷ a fhiru,' ar se,¹⁷ 'gan dul dar in sruth, 7 ni bud ¹⁸ maith do thogail na Tebi tren-armaigi ¹⁹ a triall amlaid sin. Ro ergedar-sim ²⁰ co dian denmnedach la sin n-gresacht sin 7 da chuadar dar in sruth no co rangadar co tulaich talb-alaind taitnemaich. Acus ro chidi-sium ²¹ uathib as in tulaig sin tigi arda airegda ²² 7 faicheda ²³ fonn-glasa fir-ailli na Tebi togaidi.

Ro gabsad leo-sum and sin longport lethan lan-adbal 7 robadar and re h-ead na h-aidchi sin. Ua doilig tra a fhis 7 h-aisnes crilh 7 come gla, sestan 7 sir-sibul na Tiauannda is in aidchi sin, o t' chondcadar pupaill alad-breca (f)airsingi 7 airm saiti sesmach a gaiscedach n-Grec re doirrsib a m-brec

¹ Eg. omits.

² Eg. adds don.

³ t-suan.

⁴ t-sadailecht.

⁵ no an.

⁶ derbeda.

⁷ doirrchi.

⁸ fidhrad.

⁹ nir.

¹⁰ fo.

¹¹ Eg. adds a.

¹² tairis sin.

¹³ Eg. omits.

¹⁴ dee.

¹⁵ fina.

¹⁶⁻¹⁸ a firu, ar se.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ Eg. omits.

¹⁸ ba

¹⁹ calma.

²⁰ Eg. omits-sim.

²¹ chidis.

²² aireda

²³ Eg. adds dath.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Now as to the Greeks. They marched forward without sleep or repose by day or by night. And although the tokens of danger and indications of great disaster were many, these did not restrain them. The fury of the great heroes was raised all the more by every unfavourable premonition they met with. At length they reached the ever-beautiful, green, flowing river Asopus in the land of Thebes. They delayed crossing the river at once, for it was in great flood and its waves roared through the wizard spells which Bacchus the god of wine had thrown upon it. Then the fiery, wrathful Hippomedon went forward and in front of the hosts urged his horses into the ford and said to the troops: 'Faint hearted and cowardly you must be,' said he, 'not to cross this stream; nor does such a march augur well for the taking of strongly armed Thebes.' Thus stimulated they went forward quickly, vehemently, crossed the river, and arrived at a bright, beautiful knoll. From that knoll in the distance they saw the high and stately mansions and the green, truly beautiful lawns of glorious Thebes. They made a very large, spacious camp there and rested during that night.

Now it would be hard to appreciate and to relate the trembling and prevailing fear, the commotion and unrest which seized the Thebans that night on beholding the spacious, variegated tents and the banners of the Greeks as they were firmly and strongly planted at the doors of their speckled tents after they encamped there.

pupall ar n-gabail a longport doib R. bui tra do met a n-ecla na¹ ba tairisi leo din na daingen da roibi accu is² in aidci sin. Cid tra acht ro scailed badba buaidirthe bel-derga 7 demna aduathmara ifirn ua³ cheachtar in da sluag is⁴ in n-aidchi sin do commorad uile 7 anindi⁵ chaith⁶ dib re Fel. 16b 2. chele. O ra ergedar tra⁷ renna ro-glana ro-ailli in lae ar na marach ro erig Iochasta in rigan laim-gel⁸ gruad-solus .u. mathair Ethiocles rig na Tebi 7 Polinices fhir thogla na cathrach 7 a da h-ingin maraen ria .u. Ismine 7 Antigone. Ba foraesta forbthi am in rigan thanic ann sin. Acus o ra siacht ar lar medon in longpuirt tuc a faidi fergacha fir-guil os aird 7 ro raid: 'A rigraig Grec,' ar si, 'c'ait a fuil⁹ mo mac-sa i trasta and so .u. Polinices. O t' chualaich imorro in gilla a baith-si 'g a iarraid amlaid sin, tanic da h-ind-saigid, 7 ro bui 'g¹⁰ a cendsugud do briathraib suarca sith-aml.¹¹ Ro recair si do-sum, 7 is ed ro raid ris: 'A mhic,' ar si, 'is ead is maith lim sith suthain do bith etrud¹²-su 7 do brathair, 7 fiarchairi¹³ chairdisa re Tíauandaib. Acus tair lim-sa a nund is in Teib 7 dena sith¹⁴ re t' brathair 7 cuindig¹⁵ rigi da deoin air. Acus muna thuca dit¹⁶ is coraidi dit cathugud¹⁷ croda 'n a agaid.'

Tanic tra cridi¹⁸ na n-Grec¹⁹ co mor and sin ar Iochasta amal ro bui ac eterdeligud a mic o'n chathugud Tíauanda. Ro triall tra Polinices dul le-si is in baili. Acus nir thair-misc Adraist imi a dul²⁰ cein co tanic Tit mac Oenius²¹ 7 co n-ebairt: 'Na dentar in sid,' ar se, 'no co tarar-sa²² ar na Tíauandib crehta mo chnis 7 mo chuirp.' Acus ro thocaib a crehta 7 a ilgona²³ do na sluagaib and sin. Ro thairmisc tra in scel sin fa Polinices dol is in cathraig 7 gan sid r'a brathair. Acus²⁴ ro linsad²⁵ na Greic²⁶ uili o feargaib gle mor²⁶ garba ris na Tíauandaib²⁷ o d' chonnecadar crehta 7 ilgona Thid.²⁸

¹ nar.² Eg. omits.³ fa.⁴ ainmíne.⁵ caich.⁶ Eg. omits.⁷ gal-lamach.⁸ ina bfuil.⁹ Eg. omits.¹⁰ Eg. adds 7.¹¹ adrat-sa.¹² fialchairi.¹³ Sigh re do.¹⁴ cuinchidh.¹⁵ Eg. addisi.¹⁶ kúg.¹⁷ craidhedha.¹⁸ Grecaidh.¹⁹ Eg. adds ann sin.²⁰ Ainiusa.²¹ tarrusa.²² gona.²³ Eg. omits.²⁴ linastar.²⁵ Greidh.²⁶ mora.²⁷ briathraib sin Tít.²⁸ Eg. omits.

Such terror took hold of them that in that night they regarded no fort or strength of theirs a safe defence for them. Howbeit the dangerous, red-lipped furies, and the horrid demons of hell went among both peoples that night to create mischief and to increase the hatred of each against the other.

Now when the very bright and beautiful day-stars arose on the morrow, Iocasta, the white-handed, bright-faced queen, mother of Etioles king of Thebes and of Polinices invader of the city, rose up accompanied by her two daughters Ismene and Antigone. Of mature age and full vigour in sooth was the queen at that time. When she reached the very centre of the camp, she proclaimed her angry very sorrowful message aloud: 'Princes of Greece,' said she, 'where is my son Polinices who is with you, at this moment.' When the youth heard that she was asking for him by name, he approached her and took to soothing her in pleasant and gentle language. She made answer to him and spoke thus: 'Son,' said she, 'my great desire is that there should be perennial peace between you and your brother and bonds of friendship with the Thebans. Come with me over to Thebes, and make peace with your brother, and ask him to surrender the kingdom to you of his own free will. If he will not do so you will have a stronger case for waging bloody war against him.' The Greeks greatly sympathised with Iocaste as she was endeavouring to prevent her sons from engaging in the Theban war. Polinices then made up his mind to accompany her to the city, and Adrastus was not opposed to the project, until Tydeus son of Oenius came forward and said: 'Do not conclude peace,' said he, 'until I avenge on the Thebans the wounds of my skin and body.' And he showed his hurts and many wounds to the hosts. That incident effectually prevented Polinices from going to the city and making peace with his brother. And all the Greeks were filled with great fierce wrath against the Thebans when they saw the hurts and many wounds of Thebes.

Is i sin aes 7 uair tangadar a mach na tigri ro bitis ac imarchur charbaid Baich mic Ioib d'ol uisci co srothaib fir-uara ¹ fir-glana na Tebi. In am ² do chuadar dorala doib ara ³ Ampiamraus in t-(s)acairt moir Grecaig 7 se ac lecun usci da echaib. Ro lingestar ⁴ air na tigri diana dasachtacha fo chetoir .u. cenela anmidead erchoidecha marbas cethra 7 daine na tigri. Acus ⁵ ro marbsad fo chetoir in t-ara 7 na h-eochu. Acus ro marbsad dano ⁶ dias aili do Grecaib .u. Idas 7 Athamant.⁷ Et ⁸ as aithli sin do chondaire Acondteus Arcadecda na tigri .u. taiseach mor-thuaithi do luchd na h-Arcaidi (7 is 'na fherand ata in cloch bis ar lassad tre bithu .u. fifest ⁹ a h-ainm) a h-aithli na n-echt sin do denam daib, 7 ¹⁰ ro dibraic da ¹¹ saigid an diaid aroili da n-indsaigi co ro tregdastair a craideda 7 co rucoad na saigti leo is in m-baile 7 conid thall fuaradar bas. Ba trom ¹² 7 ba ¹² torrsech re ¹³ Tiauadaib in gnim sin; 7 ro erig a mach fer do muntir Baich dan digail .u.¹⁴ Flegius a ainm, 7 ro siacht cen fhis no co n-tuc bem claideb do Acondteus co torchair marb cen anmain. Ro ergadar imorro na h-Arcaidi da digail sin, 7 ni riacht leo, uair ranic ¹⁵ Flegius imslan is in chathraig ar n-digail enig Baich a muich.

A-haithli in gnima sin imorro ro (f)as seastan 7 seselb adbul mor il-longport lan-lethan ¹⁶ na n-Grec,¹⁷ 7 ¹⁸ ro raid Tit mac Oenius re h-Iochasta 7 re h-ingenaib, 'Denaid imthecht,' ar se, '7 ni berthai sid no (f)osud ¹⁹ don cur-sa.' Ro imthig ²⁰ Iochasta co dubach do-menmach ar sin, ar femed sida iter a macaib.

Ro erig imorro Tid ²¹ croda coscoroch *Calidonda* mac Oenius 7 ro gab a armu 7 ro comgres a munter 7 slog na n-Grec ²² ar chena. Do rindead tra and sin comergi croda ²³ curita 7 sithanchar ²³ tindisnach cur' ua cumasceda com-buaidirthi itir chairpthib 7 curadaib in longpuirt is in n-uair

¹ fuardha.² Acus in tan.³ aru.⁴ línustar.⁵ Eg. omits.⁶ MS. l.⁷ Eg. adds an-anmanna.⁸ Eg. omits.⁹ tistist.¹⁰ Eg. omits.¹¹ dó.¹²⁻¹³ Eg. omits.¹³ la.¹⁴ Eg. omits.¹⁵ ro imig.¹⁶ lethna.¹⁷ Grecach.¹⁸ Eg. omits.¹⁹ fosadh lib.²⁰ imidh.²¹ Eg. adds mac Ainiusa in milidh.²² Grecidh.²³⁻²³ carut rí talcar.

It was at that time and hour that the tigers which drove the chariot of Bacchus went forth to the very cool, very limpid streams of Thebes, to drink water. As they did so the charioteer of Amphiaraus the great Greek priest met them as he was watering his horses. The furious, mad tigers instantly sprang upon the man—a species of dangerous animals that kill beasts and men are the tigers—and in a moment killed the charioteer and the horses: they also killed two other Greeks, Idas and Acamas. Then Aconteus the Arcadian saw the tigers, after they had done these slaughters—chief of a large tribe of Arcadians was he, and it is in his lands that the stone named is which flames on for ever. He shot two arrows in succession at them which pierced their hearts. They carried the arrows in their bodies into the city where they died. The deed was a cause of sorrow and grief to the Thebans. Phegeus one of Bacchus's followers went forth to avenge them. He reached the camp secretly and gave a sword blow to Aconteus who fell dead lifeless. Then the Arcadians rose up to avenge that slaughter, but in vain, for Phegeus got back to the city without a wound after avenging the insult to Bacchus outside.

Now after these exploits there arose very great commotion in the spacious camp of the Greeks. Tydeus son of Oenius said to Iocaste and to her daughters: 'Depart,' said he, 'for there will be neither peace nor truce on this occasion.' Iocaste thereupon departed sadly despondently, having failed to make peace between her sons. Then rose the valorous, victorious Tydeus of Calydon son of Oenius and seized his weapons and incited his people and the hosts of Greece generally. Then there was made a brave and heroic uprising and a hasty, hostile rush, so that the camp at the time presented a scene of tumult and great confusion between chariots and champions. Such was the vehemence of their movement neither the loud war trumpets nor the brave, silken banners were allowed to precede them; but the ardent multitudes of common soldiers and their

sin. Acus ro bui da deni ro ergedar co n-ar leced ¹ tosach na toisigecht da stocaib croda cathaighi na da mergedaib suarca ² srollaigi, acht a n-dirmanda diana daescur(s)luaig 7 a n-geraiti gaisced ac imchosnum gliad 7 ag iarraid irgaili do chum na Tiauanda. Ro ergedar imorro da frestal 7 da frithealam tren-fher tenda tairgsenacha talchara na Tebi. Acus ro gab gach triath dib 7 gach tigerna dib ac gresacht 7 ac nertad ³ a mor munter.⁴

Is and sin tra ⁵ ro tren-indsaich cach aroile dib co ma ⁶ samalta gredon 7 glor bresmaidm nam buiden m-bodba m-buaidirthi sin a comrith ri aroili amal bad i ind (fh)idbad brec braenach billeach barrglas ro thuited ⁷ i ladraib glac 7 il-lamaib aroili ⁸ ri gaidsnim na gaithi garb fuairi gemreta, no mar bad h-e in la bratha brig-urduire brec-(dh)uileach tisd do smur-chaicilt in betha. Acus ro bris cach airech 7 gach airdri bernd ⁹ re na buidin i cath aroili an uair sin.

Acus mar da ¹⁰ badar is in comfheidm catha sin na sluaig ceachtarda is and sin ro fuataig ¹¹ a each rot ¹² ro mer tren-fer do Tiauandaib le i cath na n-Grec ¹³ .i. Tenelas.¹⁴ Acus ro frithail Tid mac Oenius ¹⁵ h-e, 7 tuc fuirmed fedma co setrech sirchalma do gae ro bui 'na laim air, cor' ua bir bodba tre n-a chorp don churaid, 7 ro uc a ech a ris ar cula e cor' apand ¹⁶ ro thoit gan anmain iter na Tiauandaib. Ro tren-indsaig tra na catha croda araili ar toitim an (fh)ir sin co Fol. 17a 2. fergach fir-amnas. Acus ¹⁷ ro dluthaiged in chath-irgal comrumach cor' ba dluithitir re cleith lenad ¹⁸ ar n-a landluchug ¹⁹ in lini ²⁰ sleg semnech sith-fhata ro suigideg a sleasaib suarca saer-cland so-cheneloch and sin is in tres tren-adbul sin ro curestar. Cid tra acht ro dithaigit dronga de sin, 7 ro mael ²¹-tamnaigit meidi,²² 7 ro banaid gnuisi, 7 ro ruamnaigit roisc, 7 ro claeit ²³ cetfada curad ²⁴ a comthoitim.²⁴

Acus ar sin do rala in cath ina comracaib. Ro comraic and Ipomedon ard allata do Grecaib 7 Fiuaris sir-uallach

¹ leciud.² suaichinta.³ nertugud.⁴ muntire.⁵ Eg. omits.⁶ mad.⁷ thuitfed.⁸ reroili.⁹ barann.¹⁰ do.¹¹ fhuadaigh.¹² rod.¹³ Grecaidh.¹⁴ Terelas.¹⁵ Oeniusa.¹⁶ opann.¹⁷ Eg. omits.¹⁸ lemad.¹⁹ dluth.²⁰ line.²¹ Eg. omits.²² mededha.²³ claidhit.²⁴⁻²⁴ don coméirge 7 don comtoitim.

champions of valour were contending for the fray and seeking for the foremost place in the fight with the Thebans.

On the other hand there went forth to meet and encounter them the mighty men of Thebes, firm, aggressive, and stern. Each prince and lord incited and encouraged his numerous followers. Either side furiously attacked the other. Such was the roar and loud crash with which the two wild, furious troops contended with each other that it seemed as if the speckled, dewy, branchy, green-topped wood had fallen into the cleft-grips and hands of each other through the withe-twisting of a rough, cold winter blast, or as if the day of doom had had to lay the world in ashes. Each noble and high king made a breach in the ranks of the troops opposing him on that day, and hosts on both sides were slain in that strong and mutual attack.

Then a mighty Theban, Pterclas to name, drove his mettlesome, very spirited horse into a battalion of the Greeks. Tydeus son of Oenius met him and strongly, very valiantly, he made an effective thrust with a spear he held in his hand, so that the terrible point went through the body of the champion. His horse bore him back again and he suddenly fell lifeless among the Thebans. The other brave battalions on the fall of that man attacked each other mightily, angrily, very fiercely. The contending combatants now approached nearer so that closer than the beams of a field hurdle at their narrowest were the numbers of polished, long-pointed spears planted in the gallant sides of well-born freemen in that powerful, mighty, terrible fight which was fought there. Whence it was that companies were extinguished, and necks of champions hacked off, and faces made pale, and eyes made red, and senses paralysed as they fell together.

Thereafter the battle became a series of duels. The noble, renowned Greek Hippomedon and the ever-gallant Theban Sybaris fought with the result that Sybaris fell by the hand of the Greek. Thereafter two powerful Thebans, Pylus and Periphas, fought against one Grecian hero,

do Tiauandaib 7 i forcindiud in comraic sin da rochair Fiuaris ann do laim in Grecaig. Ro comraicsedar as ahaithli sin da tren fer do Tiauandaib .u. Pilius 7 Perefans re h-en gaiscedaig do Grecaib ¹ .u. Menceius.² Acus do thoitsed na ³ Tiauanda don tachur sin, 7 rue Menceius ² a coscor 7 a comaidem. Acus ³ do rigne ⁴ Partapeus ri na h-Arcaide ar sin echta ar na Tiauandaib 7 ro thoit ⁵ in triur-sa dib les .u. Ithis 7 Sibaris ⁶ 7 Perafans.⁷ Do thoit Cunesius gaiscedach do Grecaib re h-Emon echtach mac Creoin do Tiauandaib, 7 ac toitim do ro gab Abas do Tiauandaib airm inn fhir,⁸ 7 ro focair comruc da eis, 7 tarlaic fer do Grecaib saigit do co-rus-facaib gan anmain.

Ro erig ar sin sacart do muntir Baich .u. Euneius 7 ⁹ a edach delradach dath-alaind imi, as an-denad idbarta do Baich, 7 tue tairisem 7 tarcaisi ¹⁰ mor ar na Grecaib uili, 7 is ed ro raid: 'Na cuirig ¹¹ ris na Tiauandaib, a Grecu,' ar se, 'uair is croda a curaid, 7 is cumachta ¹² a n-dei. 7 is daingin mur a mor ¹³-cathrach.' Acus ¹⁴ o d' chualaig imorro in ri ¹⁵ lond mar gaisced ¹⁶ mer do Grecaib .u. Capaneus ro (f)rithail h-e, 7 tanic ar cind conairi do inna stuaig agmair aduathmair, 7 ro boec bertaich ¹⁷ in sleig rind-ger ro fada, co crund caem comdiriuch do fid ¹⁸ chuanda cuibrisc ¹⁹ indti, 7 ro raid: 'Is ²⁰ batra ²⁰ banda,' ar se, 'na briathra bocasaich raidi ris na slogaib, 7 dursan nach e in dei da n-adrad ita id richt a drasta, uair da madh e ro faethsad lim-sa.' Acus ²¹ cuma ro raid-seom sin 7 tue urchar n-indill ²² diruch do chum Euneius, co ro scailt ²³ a sciath, 7 co ro bris a druim, co riacht a ²⁴ marb do chum talman ua chetoir.

Is and sin ro fhopair Ethiocles, ri na Tiabandaib, ara 7 il-echta aidbli ar gasradaib Grec co ma dronga dian-marba les iad cach conair ina teged. Polinices imorro tue sec accarda ²⁵ 7 anucul do na Tiabandaib ar in fialchairi ²⁶ m-bunaid 7 ar grad na h-atharrda dilisi ²⁷ duthaig.

¹ Grec.² Meneceus.³ Eg. omits.⁴ roigne.⁵ thoitsit.⁶ Siuaris.⁷ Perafas.⁸ Eg. adds sin.⁹ con.¹⁰ tarcusne.¹¹ cuiridh.¹² cumachtach.¹³ Eg. omits.¹⁴ Eg. omits.¹⁵ laéch.¹⁶ gaiscedach.¹⁷ gabh.¹⁸ don fhid.¹⁹ caprise.²⁰⁻²⁰ baeth.²¹ Eg. adds is.²² íneill.²³ scoilt.²⁴ Eg. omits.²⁵ accarra.²⁶ fialcoiri.²⁷ disle.

Menoeceus. The Thebans fell in the encounter, and Menoeceus celebrated his victory and triumph. Parthenopaeus King of Arcadia made slaughter among the Thebans and these three fell by his hand, Itys and Sybaris and Periphas. Caeneus a Grecian hero fell by the hands of the mighty Theban, Haemon son of Creon. And as the Greek fell Abas a Theban took his arms and challenged to combat his friends, whereupon a Greek let fly an arrow at him which left him lifeless.

Then rose Eunaeus, a priest of Bacchus, robed in the brilliant, beautifully coloured dress in which he was wont to offer sacrifices to Bacchus. He heaped great reproaches and affronts on all the Greeks and spoke thus: 'Do not fight against the Thebans, O Greeks,' said he, 'for their champions are brave, and their gods are powerful, and the ramparts of their chief city are strong.' When the fierce-active, heroic-active Grecian King Capaneus heard this, he stepped forward and encountered him on his path, with his warlike, terrible mien. He handled the sharp-pointed, very long spear with its polished, very straight shaft of beautiful cypress wood and said: 'Womanly in sooth,' said he, 'are the boastful words you have addressed to the hosts! Pity it is that the god whom you worship does not stand in your place at this moment, for if he did he would fall by my hand!' As he spoke thus, he made a well-aimed, straight cast at Eunaeus, which clove his shield and broke his back and hurled him forthwith to the ground a dead man.

Thereupon Etioeles King of Thebes inflicted slaughters and many violent cruelties on the Grecian troops, so that one saw heaps of men stark dead on every path over which he rode. Polinices on the other hand dealt humanely with the Thebans and gave them quarter because of his blood kinship with them and his love for his dear native land.

THE ADVENTURES OF LÉITHIN

DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D.

PREFACE

I MADE acquaintance with the following story, which so far as I know has never been noticed before, in a rather curious way. Dr. Nicholas O'Donnell, of Melbourne, an Australian born and bred, but a good Irish scholar, picked up some years ago a not very aged Irish MS. in Australia, and kindly sent me a list of its contents. Among other pieces which it contained was 'Eachtra Léithin.' I told him I had not met this story before, and he then and there very kindly made me a transcript of it. I have carefully compared this Australian text with four other copies of this story preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, but I find no virtual difference between them. The oldest copy of the four is by the well-known southern scribe, Michael Óg O Longan, and was written in 1788.¹ I do not know what MS. he copied from, but in the Australian copy, while the text is practically the same, there is an evident desire on the part of the scribe to keep the story as antique-looking as might be compatible with intelligibility. Hence he appears to prefer to write a long *e* for *ea*, as *dénamh* for *déanamh*, and *nd* for *nn*, as *lind* for *linn*, etc. The text of the prose as it now stands has been very much modernised. The story, however, in its main features is of considerable antiquity. It is, so far as I know, unique in that it gives us a peep at a whole cycle of bird and beast lore stories now apparently almost lost, but which must have, I think, at one time existed. That

¹ 23.9.20. The other MSS. (not yet catalogued) are E. V. 5 by Paul O Longáin, written in 1810, 23, P. 18, le William o hogáin as leabhar Eamon ui Mhathghamhna ar na nóidh sgriobha as leabhar Mhichil óig ui Longáin, air na sgriobha an 8^{mh} lá don mhí dá nguirthar Tisri; aois criost mdcccxv. 24 A. 3 written by Seumas O Suilliobhain in 1847 (?).

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this was the case is fairly evident from the long Middle Irish poem of 464 lines¹ preserved in the MS. Egerton 1782 and in the Book of Fermoy: a colloquy between Fintan and the Hawk or Crow of Achill, in which allusion is made to this very story, to the eating of Léithin's two birds, as well as to the death of Blackfoot, the stag who figures here, and of the blackbird, while the whole story of Goll the salmon is told, much as it is told here, and of the crow who robbed him of his eye, the same crow who ate Léithin's birds. That the present text of our story though modernised was, in part at least, taken from older MSS. seems likely. The piece, for instance, about Fintan Mac Laimbfhiadhach and the various shanachies whom God permitted to remain alive to keep account of the genealogies of the world, is found in different words in *Leabhar na h-Uidre* (cir. 1100). Again the reading of *Cluain Feasda*, the place to which St. Bearchán is assigned (which in the Australian MS. is still further corrupted to *Cluain Fearta*), has evidently come from the misreading of some former scribe, who had mistaken an S for an F.² For *Cluain Sosta* was St. Bearchán's district. He was a renowned saint and prophet, of whom many stories were told.

But perhaps the best proof of the antiquity of the story in its main features is that I have found it told in Connacht as a folk-tale, without any mention of Fintan and his monks, and only as a comparison of ages between the Crow of Achill, the great eagle, the blind trout (not salmon) of Assaroe, and the well-known Hag of Beare. In the folk-tale as told a few years ago by a native of Maltpool, Co. Mayo, the storm and cold which gave rise to the curiosity of the Crow, and its subsequent visits to the other animals, and the loss of the trout's eye, are told pretty much as in our text. I imagine that St. Ciaran and his monks were brought into the tale by some mediæval writer who desired the protection of the

¹ See Anecdota from Irish MSS., vol. i. p. 24, where the text is printed without a translation.

² Transliterating *S₃ta* as *Feasta*.

Church for this old story,¹ lest any good friar or cleric might be prompted to say that such tales were folly or superstitions, or were deluding the people; which they would not be likely to assert if the story took place under the ægis, so to speak, of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise and his monks, and to the greater glory of that saint. Such devices are common in Irish literature, notably in that great repertoire of all kinds of stories, the *Agallamh na Seanórach*, where they are told under the protection of St. Patrick himself, and with the sanction of his attendant angel. The incorrect adjective *eachlach*, too, which is used to qualify the word *préachán*, is the mistake of some former scribe who, not knowing that *Accarill* was a place-name (it is a large island off the Mayo coast) with a genitive *Accla*, made out of the contraction *acl* an adjective *aclach* or *eachlach*; and the fact that the definite article is used before 'préachán' followed by *Acla* in the genitive is a proof of antiquity, for such a locution as *an préachán Acla*, though common in Middle Irish, would hardly have been possible for the last few hundred years.²

In the old poem in Eg. 1782, a fifteenth century vellum MS., Fintan was himself the salmon. This is one of the many cases of rebirth alluded to in old Irish sagas.³

'When the black torrent of the deluge came down, the Creator placed me to my skaith in the form of a salmon on every cold stream,' says Fintan. He frequented the Boyne, the Bush, the Bann, the Suck, the Suir, the Liffey, etc., until he came to Assaroe.

'A night I was on the wave in the north, and I at seal frequented Assaroe. I never experienced a night like that from the beginning to the end of my time.'⁴

'I could not remain in the waterfall (pool), I give a leap

¹ It is actually called in one of the MSS. that contains it, 'A story of two monks of Clonmacnoise.'

² On the other hand, of course, the article may have been inserted by a later scribe, who read *aclach* or *eachlach* and thought it an adjective.

³ See *Voyage of Bran*, vol. ii. p. 80.

⁴ Literally, 'of the world.'

—it was no luck for me—the ice comes like a blue glass between me and the falls of the Son of Modharn.

‘There came a crow ¹ out of cold Achill, above the river-mouth of Assaroe, I shall not hide it though it is a thing to be kept secret, he rapt away with him one of my eyes.

‘The Goll or Blind One of Assaroe has clung to me [as a name] since that night. Rough the deed. I am ever since without my eye. No wonder for me to be aged.’ ²

The crow or hawk continuing his colloquy with Fintan reminds him of the death of his (Fintan’s) own sons ³ in the Battle of Moytura in Cong, and tells him how he had the picking of them! He tells him of the various battles he had seen in Ireland, and gloats over the reminiscence of the slain. It was he who carried off the hand of Nuadha, which was afterwards replaced by a silver hand, whence the king of the Tuatha De Danann was ever afterwards known as Nuadha of the Silver Hand. He, too, was the crow who perched upon Cuchulain’s shoulder, when that great hero was dying. ‘I came ⁴ above the warrior, as his countenance

¹ The word *préachán*, though it usually means a crow or rook, is applied to the seabac or hawk in this poem. In the Co. Roscommon I often heard the Marsh Harrier or ‘kite,’ as they called him in English, termed ‘*préachán gearc*’ in Irish.

² *Adhaigh dhamh ar [in] tuinn túaidh . ocus mé ar Ess rónach Ruaidh,*

Ni fúarus adhaigh mar sain . o thús co deiredh domain.

Tic préchán a hAccuill úair . os cionn inbir Essa Rúaidh . ní biu ’ca chelt cidh fáth rúin . Do fhuadhaigh leis mo lethsúil.

Goll Essa Rúaid do lean dím . ón adhaigh sin, borb a brigh . atú gan mo tsúil o hsoin . nemingnadh dúinn beith arsaid.

³ This is not a mere invention of the poet’s. It is recorded that in the first (or southern) battle of Moytura fought between the Firbolg and the Tuatha De Danann, the Firbolg sent for Fintan to take his advice, and that he had thirteen sons in the battle. This story belongs to the mythological or oldest cycle of Irish story-telling.

⁴ *Tanac ós cinn in churad . ocus a drech ar ndubad . d’ithi a súla nír thoisc áigh . crumaim mo chend sa chongháir.*

Mothaighis mé ar a agaid . tógbaís súas in láim lagaig . cuiris a chletín curad . trem cholainn don chéttulad.

Berim-si eteall angbaid . co h-Inis Géidh dar glennmuir . tairrngim assamm, borb an brigh . crann crúaidrighin in chletín.

Anaidh am cholainn in cenn . mo chraidhe do chráidh go tend, . co slán ní iuilimm o hsoin . s ní cheilim ótú arsaid.

Mé do marb mór na sgéla . óenchorr do bí ar Muigh Léna, . ocus ilar Droma Brice . do thuit lim ’san áth oirdirc.

was darkening in death, to eat his eyes. It was not an errand of luck. I stoop my head. . . . He feels me at his face. He raises up his weakening hand. He puts his hero's little quill through my body. . . . I take a troubled flight to Innis Géidh across the valleyed sea, and draw forth from myself, rough the task, the hard, tough shaft of the dartlet. The head remains in my body. It tortured my heart sorely. Sound I am not since that day; and I conceal it not since I am old.

'It was I who slew, great the tidings, the solitary crane that was in Moy Léana and the eagle of Druim Breac, who fell by me at the famous ford.

'It was I who slew, pleasant the supper, the solitary crane of blue Innis Géidh. IT WAS I WHO CHEWED BENEATH MY BEAK THE TWO FULL-FAT BIRDS OF LÉITHIN. It was I who slew, royal the rout, THE SLENDER BLACK-FOOT of Slieve Fuaid. The BLACKBIRD of Druim Seghsa of the streams died in the talons of my daughters.'

Here are allusions to a whole cycle of bird and beast lore. There were at one time, I should think, stories connected with all of these animals.¹

Mé do marb súairec in sére . énochrr Innsi guirm Géidhe . iss mé do chogain fam chí . dá én lánméithi Léithín.

Is mé do marb, righda in rúaig . Dubchosach seng slébe Fúait . lon droma Seghsa na sreb . fuáir bás i crobaib m'ingean.

¹ I think I have found the story of the solitary crane of Moy Léana. I discovered a new version of the Agallamh na Seanórach in a seventeenth-century MS., one of the Reeve's collection, which contains a probably thirteenth-century text, and nearly as much again as the texts printed by O'Grady and Stokes. There is in this unpublished text a poem about the crane of the Léana or Marsh, of 584 lines, consisting of a dialogue between the crane and Oisín, in which the crane tells its story. The first two verses begin with the same line, 'a chorr úd thall san léana.' Hence, no doubt, the words 'ónochorr do bí ar Muigh Léna' of the old poem, for the word 'léana' naturally suggested the name 'Magh Léana,' where the great battle was fought whose story forms one of the most famous of Irish romances. The text of the unpublished Agallamh seems to recognise that the crane was already known to Oisín. 'At chí [Oisín] an ccuirr ccrotaigh ccruaidhluirgneach do leath thaobh na conaire 7 tucc aithne fuirre.' He asks her 'cionnas do cuired isin ccoiréacosg sin thú . . . oir as imchian o ro choimhricesiomh rér ccoimhdhíne gos anos.' Her name was Miadhach, daughter of Eachdhonn. She was metamorphosed because she would not give up her lover. As a crane she met with the Eagle of Druim Cró, the Blackbird of Leitir Bile, with whom she falls in love, the Fox of Sliabh Mis, etc.

It is also obvious that this ancient poem found in Egerton 1782, and in the Book of Fermoy, actually presupposes our story and has a close connection with it.¹

THE ADVENTURES OF LÉITHIN

A HOLY patron saint, noble and distinguished, there was in the land of Ireland of a time, whose name was Ciaran of Cluan.² A good faith had he in the mighty Lord.

One day Ciaran bade his clerics to go look for thatch for his church, on a Saturday of all days,³ and those who were so bidden were Sailmín, son of Beogan, and Maolan,⁴ son of Naoi, for men submissive to God were they twain, so far as their utmost-diligence went, and many miracles were performed for Maolán, as Ciaran said in the stanza :

Maolan, son of Naoi the cleric,
His right hand be for our benison,
If the son of Naoi desired it
To work miracles like every saint [he could].

And moreover Sailmín, son of Beogan, he was the same man of whom, for wisdom, for piety, and for religion—he also—Ciaran spake the stanza :

Sailmín melodious, son of Beogan,
A faith godlike and firm,
Not blemished (!) is his body,
His soul is an angel.

He was the seventh son of the sons of Beogan of Burren,⁵ and those men were the seven psalmists of Ciaran, so that from them is the 'Youth's Cross' on the Shannon, and the [other] 'Youth's Cross' on the high road of Clonmacnoise [named] .

¹ The pointing of the text, the capital letters, quotation marks, and hyphens are mine. Otherwise I have not interfered with it, except where stated in the notes.

² i.e. 'Clonmacnois.'

³ Literally 'especially.'

⁴ These names are not given in any of the Irish martyrologies.

⁵ In West Clare.

Howsoever the clerics fared forth alongside the Shannon, until they reached Cluain Dóimh. There they cut the full of their little curragh of white-bottomed green-topped rushes. Thereafter [before they had finished] they heard the voice of the clerics' bell at the time of Vespers on Sunday, so that they said that they would not leave that place until the day would rise on them on Monday, and they spake the lay as follows :

The voice of a bell I hear in Cluan¹
On Sunday night defeating us,
I shall not depart since that has been heard
Until Monday, after the Sunday.

On Sunday did God shape-out Heaven,
On that day was the King of the apostles born,
On Sunday was born Mary
Mother of the King of Mercy.

On Sunday, I say it,
Was born victorious John Baptist.
By the hand of God in the stream in the East
Was he baptized on Sunday.

On Sunday, moreover, it is a true thing,
The Son of God took the captivity out of hell,
On a Sunday after the battle (?)
Shall God deliver the Judgment of the last day.

On a Sunday night, we think it melodious,
The voice of the cleric I hear,
The voice I hear of a bell
On Drum Diobraid above the pool.

The voice of the bell I hear
Taking me to rest (?)
The voice of the bell I hear
Bringing me to Cluan.

By thy hand, O youth, here,
And by the King who created thee,
My heart thinks them delightful
Both the bell and the voice.

¹ i.e. Clonmacnoise.

Howbeit the clerics abode that night [where they were] for the love of the King of Sunday.¹ Now there occurred a frost and a prolonged snow and a rigour-of-cold, and there arose against them bad weather and great rain, and there arose wind and tempest in the elements for their skaith and for their hurt, that it was a misery for all those for whom it had been fated to be placed in a bodily-form and to be that night without the convenience of a bothy or a lean-to of a bed or a fire for them. And surely had it not been for the mercy of God protecting them round about, it was not in the mind of either of them that he would be alive on the morrow after that night, with all they experienced of oppression and terror from the great tempest of that wild-weather, so that they never remembered their acts of piety or to say or sing a prayer (?), nor could they sleep or rest, for their senses were turned to foolishness, for they had never seen the like or the equal of that storm, and of the bad weather of that night, for the venom of its cold and moreover for the bitterness of the morning [which followed it]. And as they were there on the morning of the next day they heard a gentle, low, lamentable woe-begone conversation of grief above their heads on high on a tall wide-extended cliff. And [the meaning] was revealed to them through the virtue of their holiness, and although much evil and anxiety had they suffered [still] they paid attention to the conversation and observed it.

And they between whom the conversation was, were these, namely an eagle who was called Léithin² and a bird of its birds³ in dialogue with her, pitiously and complainingly lamenting their cold-state, pitifully, sadly, grievously; and said the bird to the eagle:

‘Léithin,’ said he, ‘do you ever remember the like of

¹ A common periphrasis even in modern Irish. See my story of *Seághan Tincéar*, ‘*Sgeuluidhe Gaedhealach*,’ third story, and *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii. pp. 272-3.

² Apparently ‘the little grey one’ from ‘liath’=grey; pronounce ‘Lay-heen.’ I have made ‘her’ feminine and called her ‘she’ in the translation, but the Irish makes her masculine.

³ i.e. one of its own young eagles or nestlings.

this morning or of last night to have come within thy knowledge before ? ’

‘ I do not remember,’ said Léithin, ‘ that I ever heard or saw the like or the equal of it, since the world was created, and do you yourself remember or did you ever hear of such [weather] ? ’ said the eagle to the bird.

‘ There are people who do remember,’ said the bird.

‘ Who are they ? ’ said the eagle.

‘ Dubhchosach [*i.e.* the black-footed one] of Binn Gulban,¹ that is the vast-sized stag of the deluge,² who is at Binn Gulban, and he is the hero of oldest memory of all those of his generation (?) in Ireland.’

‘ Your sin be on you, and your sin’s reward. Surely you don’t know that, and now although that stag be far away from me I shall go to see him, to find if I may win any knowledge from him ! ’

Therewith Léithin went off lightly, yet was she scarcely able to rise up on high with the strength of the bad weather, and no more could she go low with the cold of the . . . ? and with the great abundance of the water, and though it was difficult for her, she progressed lightly and low-flying, and no one living could reveal or make known all that she met of evil and of misery going to Ben Gulbain looking for the Blackfoot. And she found the small-headed swift-footed stag scratching himself against a bare oak rampike. And Léithin descended on a corner of the rampike beside him. And she salutes the stag in his own language and asks him was he the Blackfoot. The stag said that he was, and Léithin spake the lay, as follows :

Well for you, O Blackfoot,
On Ben Gulbain high,
Many moors and marshes
Leap you lightly by.

¹ Now Ben Bulbin in Co. Sligo.

² *i.e.* ‘as old as the deluge’? I have often met the phrase elsewhere as applied to a great stag. It is a stock phrase, whatever may be the exact meaning.

Hounds no more shall hunt you
Since the Fenians¹ fell,
Feeding now untroubled
On from glen to glen.

Tell me, stag high-headed,
Saw you ever fall
Such a night and morning?
You remember all.

[The stag answers.]

I will give you answer,
Léithin, wise and grey,
Such a night and morning
Never came my way.

‘Tell me, Blackfoot,’ said Léithin, ‘what is your age?’

‘I’ll tell you,’ said the Blackfoot. ‘I remember this oak here when it was a little oaklet, and I was born the same year at the foot of the oak that was there, and I was reared upon that couch [of moss at its foot] until I was a mighty-great stag; and I loved this abode [ever], through my having been reared in it. And the oak grew after that till it was a giant oak, and I used to come and constantly scratch myself against it every evening after my journeyings and goings [during the day], and I used [always] to remain beside it in such wise till the next morning, and neither travel nor hot hunting used to affect me, till I used to reach this same tree, so that we grew up with one another, [I and the tree], until I became a mighty-great stag, and this tree became the bare withered rampike which you see, so that it is now only a big ruined *maosgán*² without blossom or fruit or foliage to-day, its period and life being spent. Now I have let a long period of time³ go by me, yet I never saw and never heard tell of in all that time the like of last night.’

Léithin departs [to return] to her birds after that, and

¹ The Fenians were the great hunters of game in Ireland in the third century.

² Decayed wood.

³ The original seems to mean a cargo, [or the people] of five hundred years.

on her reaching home the second bird spoke to her: 'Have you found out what you went to inquire about?'

'I have not,' said Léithin, and she began to blame the bird for all the cold and hardships she had endured, [but at last] she said, 'Who do you think again would obtain knowledge of this for me?' said Léithin.

'I know that,' said the bird, 'Dubhgoire [=the black caller] of Clonfert ¹ of Berchán.'

'Well then I'll go to him.'

And although that was far away from her yet she proceeded until she reached Clonfert of [Saint] Berchán, and she was observing the birds until they had finished their feeding [and were returning home], and then Léithin saw approaching her one splendid bird, beautifully-topped, victorious-looking, of the size of a blackbird, but of the brightness of a swan, and as soon as it came into her presence Léithin asks it whether it was Dubhgoire.

It said that it was.

It was a marvel [to Léithin] when it said that it was, namely, that the blackbird should be white, and Léithin spake the lay.

How is that, O Dubhgoire, sweet is thy warbling, often hast thou paid thy calls throughout the blue-leaved forest.

From Clonfert of the bright streams thou searchest the full plain of the Liffey and, from the plain of the Liffey coming from the east to Kildare behind it.

From that thou wentest to thy nest, in the Cill which Brigit blessed, short was it for thee to overleap every hedge till thou camest to the townland in which Berchan is wont to be.

O Dubhgoire, tell to me—and to count up all thy life—the like of yesterday morning, did it ever overtake thee, O Dubhgoire?

[Dubhgoire answers.]

To me my full life was three hundred years before

¹ A mistake no doubt for Cluain Sosta, now Clonsast, in Queen's Co.

Berchan, the lifetime of Berchan I spent [added thereto], I was enduring in lasting happiness.

At one time [with me] was Lughaidh of the blades for a while in the sovereignty of all Ireland, [I remember so much, yet] I never experienced by sea or by land such weather as that which Léithin mentions in his lay.¹

‘Well then, my own errand to thee,’ said Léithin, ‘is to inquire if there ever overtook you, or if you remember to have seen or [to have heard] that there ever came such a morning as yesterday for badness.’

‘I do not remember that I ever saw such,’ said Dubhgoire, ‘or anything like it.’

As for Léithin she was sad and sorrowful, because her knowledge² was none the greater for this, and she proceeded on her way till she reached her nest and birds.

‘What tidings have you to tell us to-day?’ said the bird.

‘May you never have luck nor fortune,’ said Léithin. ‘I have none, but I am as I was when I was departing, except all my weariness from all the journeyings and wanderings which you contrive to get me to take, without my getting anything great or small of profit or advantage out of you,’ and with that she gave a greedy venomous drive of her beak at the bird, so that she had like to make a prey (?) and flesh-torn spoil of it, with vexation at all the evil and misery she had experienced going to Kildare, so that the bird screeched out loudly and pitifully and miserably.

[A while] after that Léithin said, ‘It’s a pity and a grief to me if any one in Ireland knows [that there ever came a night worse than that night] and that I myself do not know of it.’

‘Well then, indeed, there is one who knows,’ says the bird, ‘Goll of Easruadh (*i.e.* the Blind one of Assaroe), and another name of him is the Eigne³ of Ath-Seannaigh (*i.e.* the salmon of Ballyshannon), and it is certain that he knows about that, if any one in the world knows about it.’

¹ Literally, ‘I never got on sea or land a knowledge of that lay of Léithin’s.’

² Literally, ‘tidings.’

³ This is an old poetic word for a salmon.

‘It is hard for me to go the way you tell me,’ said Léithin, ‘yet I would like exceeding well to win knowledge about this thing.’

Howsoever she set out, and she never came down until she reached Assaroe of Mac Modhairn, and she began observing and scrutinising Assaroe until she saw the salmon feeding at the pond, and she saluted him and said, ‘That is a pleasant [life], O Goll; it is not with thee as with me, for our woes are not the same,’ and she spake the lay.

[Léithin speaks.]

‘Pleasant is that [life of thine], O Goll, with success (?), many is the stream which thou hast adventured; thou art not the same way as we are. . . .

‘It is to thee that I have come from my house, O Blind one of Assaroe; how far does thy memory go back, or how far is thy age to be reckoned?’

[The Salmon answers.]

‘As for my memory, that is a long one. It is not easy to reckon it. There is not on land or in bush a person like me—none like me but myself alone!

‘I remember, it is no short remembrance, the displacing showers of the Deluge, four women and four men there remained after it in the world.

‘I remember Patrick of the pens coming into the land of Ireland, and the Fir Bolg, virile the assembly, coming from Greece to take possession of it.

‘Truly do I mind me of Fintan’s coming into the country beside me, four men were the crew of his ships, and an equal number of females.

‘I remember gentle Partholan’s taking the kingship’s over Ulster. I remember, a while before that, Glas son of Aimbithe in Emania.

‘I chanced to be, one morning that was not fair, on this river, O Léithin; I never experienced a morning like that, either before it or after it.

‘I gave a leap into the air under the brow of my hard rock [here], and before I came down into my house [of water] this pool was one flag of ice.

‘The bird of prey¹ seized me above the land with a furious ungentle onslaught, and bore away my clear blue eye. To me it was not a pleasant world.’

‘Well now, my own object in coming to you,’ said Léithin, ‘was to inquire of you whether you ever remember such a morning as yesterday was?’

‘Indeed I saw such a morning,’ quoth Goll. ‘I remember the coming of the deluge and I remember the coming of Partholan and of Fintan and the children of Neimhidh and the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha de Danann and the Fomorian and the sons of Milesius and Patrick son of Alprunn, and I remember how Ireland threw off from her those bands, and I remember a morning that was worse than that morning, and another morning, apart from the great showers out of which the deluge fell. And the deluge left only four men and four women, namely, Noé, son of Laimhfhiach, and his wife and Sem Cam and Japhet and their three wives, for in truth that was the crew of the ark, and neither [church-] man nor canon reckon that God left undestroyed in the world any but those four. Howbeit wise men truly recount that God left another four keeping knowledge and tribal-descent and preserving universal genealogies, for God did not wish the histories of the people to fade, and so He left Fintan, son of Laimhfhiadhach, towards the setting of the sun, southward, keeping an account of the west of the world, and moreover Friomsa Furdhachta keeping the lordships of the north, and the prophet and the apostle (?) duly ordering the [history of the] south. And these are they who were alive outside of the ark, and I remember all those people, and, Léithin,’ said Goll, ‘I never saw the like of that morning for venom except one other morning that was worse than the morning that you speak of, and worse than any

¹ Literally ‘eagle’; but this is a mistake, it was not an eagle.

morning that ever came before it. It was thus. One day that I was in this pool I saw a beautifully coloured butterfly with purple spots in the air over my head. I sprang to catch it, but before I came down the whole pool had become one flag of ice behind me, so that [when I fell back] it bore me up on that ice. And then there came the bird of prey ¹ to me, on his seeing me [in that condition], and he made a greedy venomous assault on me, and plucked the eye out of my head, and it was owing to my weight that he was not able to lift me, and he threw the eye into the pool, and we both wrestled together until we broke the ice with the violence of the struggle, and with the [heat of the] great amount of crimson-red blood that was pouring from my eye, so that the ice was broken by that, so that with difficulty I got down into the pool [again], and that is how I lost my eye. And it is certain, O Léithin,' said Goll, 'that that was by far the worst morning that I ever saw, and worse than this morning that you speak of.'

Now as for the clerics they took council with one another [and determined] to await [the eagle's return], that her tidings might overtake them. However, they experienced such hardships and anguish, such cold and misery that night, and they could not [despite their resolution] endure to abide [the eagle's return], so Maolán the cleric said, 'I myself beseech the powerful Lord and the chosen Trinity that the eagle Léithin may come with the knowledge he receives to Clonmacnoise and tell it to Ciarán' [and there-with they themselves departed].

Now as for Goll [the Salmon], he asked Léithin after that who was it that sent her in pursuit of that knowledge.

'It was the second bird of my own birds.'

'That is sad,' said Goll, 'for that bird is greatly older than you or than I either, and that is the bird that picked my eye out of me, and if he had desired to tell you [all] these

¹ MSS. reads 'fiolar' = 'the eagle,' which is evidently a mistake.

things it would have been easy for him. That bird,' said he, 'is the old Crow of Achill. And its talons have got blunted with old age, and since its vigour and energy and power of providing for itself have departed from it, its way of getting food is to go from one nest to another, smothering and killing every bird's young, and eating them, and for that reason you will never overtake your own birds alive, and oh! beloved friend, best friend that I ever saw, if you only succeed in catching him alive on your return, remember all the tricks he has played you, and avenge your birds and your journeyings and your wanderings upon him, and then too mind thee to avenge my eye.'

Léithin bade farewell to Goll, and off she went the self-same way she had come, in a mighty swift course, for she felt certain [now] that she would not overtake her birds alive, nor her eyrie. And good cause had she for that dread, for she only found the place of the nest, wanting its birds, they having been eaten by the Crow of Achill. So that all Léithin got as the result of her errand was the loss of her birds. But the Old Crow of Achill had departed after its despoiling [the nest], so that Léithin did not come on it, neither did she know what way it had gone.

Another thing, too, Léithin had to go every Monday, owing to the cleric's prayer, to Clonmacnoise. There the eagle perched upon the great pinnacle of the round tower of Clonmacnoise, and revealed herself to the holy patron, namely Ciaran. And Ciaran asked her for her news. And Léithin said she was [not ?] more grieved at her wanderings and her loss than at that. Thereupon Ciaran said that he would give her the price and reward of her story-telling; namely every time that her adventures should be told if it were storm or excessive rain that was in it at the time of telling, it should be changed into fine sky and good weather.

And Léithin said that it was understood by her [all along] that it was not her birds or her eyrie she would receive from him; and since that might not be, she was

pleased that her journeying and wandering should not go for nothing.

And [thereupon] Léithin related her goings from the beginning to the end, just as we have told them above. So those are the adventures of Léithin, thus far.

[N]AOMH¹ earlamh uasal oireadha ro bhí a ccríoch n-Eireand feacht n-aile dár ba comhainm Ciarán Cluana. Do bhi creidiomh maith aige don choimdhe chomhachtach.

Aon do ló d'fhógair Ciarán da chleirice² dul d'iara[i]dh tuighe chum³ na heagluise, dia-sathrainn⁴ go sonradh. Agus as riu adúbhradh sin, eadhon fria Sailmín mac Beogain agus fria Maolán mac Náoi, oir badh lucht umhluigheachta do Dhia an dís sin go nuige a ndithchioll. Agus rinneadh fearta iomdha do Mháolán amhuil adubhairt Ciarán an rann.

Maolan mac Naoi an cléireach
A lamh dheas dár séanadh
Dá madh aill le mac Naoi
Fearta gach naoimh do dhéanamh.

Agus fós Sailmín mac Beógain/fá hé an fear céadna/ar chéill
7 ar chrábhadh agus ar creidiomh/é féin fós, rosbeart Ciaran an rand :

Sailmín bind mac Beogain
Creidiomh diadha daingion
Ní h-ainchion a coland
A⁵ anam as aingiol.

Gurab é sin an seachtmhadh mac do mhacaibh Beógain Boirne, agus rob iad sin seacht sailmchialluibh Ciaráin, gurab uatha Cros na Macaoimh ar an Soininn,⁶ agus Cros na Macaomh air Slighe Cluana.

¹ A large space is left blank in my MS. for the initial N.

² Thus my MS. ; all the other read 'da chleireach.'

³ MSS., 'chuin.'

⁴ 24 A. E. omits from 'dul' to 'sathairn.'

⁵ E. V. 5 correctly inserts this 'A,' absent in my MS., and in Micheal O Longan's.

⁶ All the MSS. read 'Soininn.'

Ciodh trácht ro ghluaiseadar na Cléirig ar fud na Sionna,
go rán-cadar go Cluain Dóimh. Bhaineadar lán a ccura-
cháin do luachair bhuinghil bhár-ghlas ann.

Air sin do chualadar guith cluig an chléirice a n-am
easbarta Dia Domhnaig, go ndubhradar nach fágfaidís an
t-ionnad sin go n-éirgeadh an lá Dia Luain ortha, agus
adubhradar an laoi mar atá inar ndiaigh,

Guith cluig ad-chluinim a eCluain
Oidheche Dhomhnaig co diombuaidh
Ní imeochad ó chualadh súd
Go Luan andeghidh an Domhnaigh.

Dia Domhnaig do d[h]ealbuidh Dia neamh,
As ann do rugadh Rígh na n-apstal,
Dia Domhnaig do rugadh Muire
Máthair rígh na Trócaire.

Dia Domhnaig adeirim dhe
Rugadh Eoin buadha Baiste,
Do lámh Déi san t sruith shoir
Do baisteadh ē Dia Domhnaig.

Dia Domhnaig fós—as dail dearbh—
Tug Mac Dei an bhruid a h-ifriond,
Dia Domhnaig déis an ágha
Bhéarfais Dia breith an bhrátha.

Oidheche Domhnaig, as bind lind¹
Guith an chleirice do chluinim,
Guith cluig ad-chluinim-se
A ndruim Diobraid ós an lind.

Guith an chluig do chluinim-se
Dom rad-sa go huain,
Guith an chluig ad-chluinim-se
Dom breith-se go Cluain.

Dar do láimh-se a mhacaoimh-se
Is dar an rígh² ro-d-chruith
As ionmhuin leam chroidhe-si
An clog is an guith.

¹ Thus my MS. ; the other MSS. read 'binn binn' or 'bind bind.'

² 'Ríge' or 'ríge' in MS. Only 24 A 3 reads 'rígh.'

Acht ro fhansad na cleiricc an oidhche sin ar ghrádh ríghí an Dombhnaigh gur ro fearad[h] sioc agus síor-shneachta 7 róith acus d'éiridh doishiníonn 7 mor-fhearaind dóibh 7 ro éiridh gaoth 7 garbhshíon na dúilibh ¹ re a-ndith agus re a ndochar gar mairg doibh da raibh a ndán a ccur a ceolainn, riamh, 7 a mbeith an oidhche sin gan airighthe botha na bélsghatha leaptha na lán tine leo, ann. Doigh ámh muna m-beith trócaire Déi dá n-imdhíon nach raiph an aigne dhuine acu bheith beo air na mháireach déis na hoidhche sin le na bhfuaradar d'éigen 7 d'uathbhás ó mhór-anfadh na garbhshíne sin, go nar chuimhnigheadar ar chrábhadh na caoin-léaghan do rádh na do chantaind, na cotla na comhshuan do dhéanamh, gur ro saobhadh a ccédfadh go na feacadar samhul na baramhuil do doimhne ² ná do dhoishininn ³ na h-oidhche sin riamh ar nimhnidhe a fuachta agus fós ar ⁴ fhuaire na maidne. Agus do bhádar an tráith na maidne air na mháireach go ccualadar an brónchómhrádh ciuin úirisiol éugcaointeach lán-imshíomhach ós a cciond anáirde ar aill phríomhfairsing, gur foillsigheadh dóibh é, tré fertaibh a naomhthachta. Gidh mór d'ole agus d'imshníom do fuaradar tugadar an cómhhrádh dá n-uige agus dá n-aire.

Agus as iad do rin an cómhhrádh, eadhon fiolar dár bh'ainm Léithín agus éan d'á éanaibh ⁵ ag agallamh fria go ciún-lánach gearránach, ⁶ aig caoine a bhfuachta go truagh tuirseach imshníomhach, go ndubhairt an t-éan ris an bhfiolar:

'A Léithín,' ar ⁷ sé, 'an cuimhin leat macasamhla ⁸ na maidne aniugh ná na hoidhche aráoir do theacht ar t'eólas roimhe-si riamh ?

¹ All the other MSS. except mine read 'na firmaimente.'

² All the MSS. read 'doimhne' except mine, which reads 'doimhand.'

³ E. V. 5, omits last five words, and MS. reads generally 'air.'

⁴ My MS. reads generally, but not always, 'air' for 'ar.' I have changed it to 'ar' throughout.

⁵ 23, G, 20, and 23, P, 18 read 'aenda aeinibh.'

⁶ 24, A, 3 omits these adjectives.

⁷ 'Air' in MS. I have changed to 'ar' in all cases.

⁸ 'Leithéid. 23, G, 20.

‘Ni cuimhin,’ ar Léithín, ‘go ccuala ná go bhfeaca a samhail ná baramhuil di ó cruthuigheadh an domhan, agus an cuimhin leat féin no an ccuala tú a leithéid?’ air an fiolar ris an éan.

‘Atáid daoine le na cuimhin,’ ar an t-éan.

‘Cia hiad féin?’ ar an fiolar.

‘Dubhchosach Binde Gulban,’ ar an t-éan, ‘eadhon damh diomhór dilean ata ag Bind Gulban, agus asé óglaoch as sine cuimhne da choimhshine féin a n-Eirind é.’

‘Ort do chol agus do chol dhuais! dar ndóith ní’l a fhios sin agad-sa! Gidheadh, ciodh fada sin uaim-se, rachad dá fhéachuin an bhfaghaind scéla uadha.’

And sin gluaiseas Léithín roimhe go himéd[t]rom, agus nochar bhféidir leis eirge go hárd le neart na garbhshine, agus ní mó fhéad go hísiol le fuacht na fiodhbhuidhe agus le h-il-iomad an uisge, agus gé ar dheachair do é ro ghluais, go h-im-éd[t]rom in-ísiol, agus nochar¹ bhféidir le neach ar bith a fhaisnéis ná a innsin a bhfuair d’ole agus d’anró ag dul go Bind Gulbain aig iarra[idh] Dubhchosaig[h]. Agus ro fuair an damh ceand-bheag cos-luath da thochas féin re fiodhlomán daruidhe, gur thúirrlind² Léithín ar bind don lomán mail[l]e ris, agus beannuigheas don damh tré a urlabhra féin, agus fiafruigheas de ar bh’ é Dubhchosach é. Adubhairt an Damh gurbh’ é; agus do bheart Léithín an laoi, mur atá:

Aoibhinn duit a Dhubhcosaig
Ar Bind Gulban géir
Mor sreath agus anach
Tar ar lingis léim.

Ni heagal duit cunartach³
Tar eis Fianna Find,
Acht sibh saoghalach seasgair
Ó gach glind go glind.

¹ ‘Noch air,’ MSS.

² Thus my MS. ; all the other MSS. read ‘túrn’ except 23, G, 20, which is not clear.

³ My MS. and O Longan’s, 23, G, 20, and E. V. 5 read ‘cuanartach. 24, B, 12, reads as in text.

Abair liom a Dhubhchosaig
 A dhaimh cind ar chaoimh,
 Macasamla na maidne-se
 Cuimhin¹ do rála dhibh.

[Dhe Damh ag freagairt.]

An cheist do chuiris-se
 A Léithín ghloin ghaoith
 Mac samhla na maidne-se
 Cuimhin rala dhiobh.²

‘Innis dam a Dhubhchosaigh,’³ ar Léithín, ‘créad as aois duit?’

‘In[n]eósad,’ ar Dubhchosach, ‘eadhon as cuimhin liom an [crann] darach so shíos do bheith ionna darachán óg: Agus aon bhliaghain do rugadh mise a mbun na darruighe so bhi and, agus ro hoileadh mise ar an leabadh so no gur dhamh diomhór mé; gur charas an adhbhadh so tream oileamhuin uirthe; gur fhás an dair iar sin go raibh na [dhair?] mhóir,⁴ agus do thigind-se dam’ ghnáth-thochas féin ria gach nóna⁵ d’éis mh’aistir [agus] m’ imtheachta, go bhfanaind aici fá’n n-iondbuidh sin go maidion ar na mháireach. Agus noch a ccuireadh⁶ taisdiol, ná trom-fhiadhach orom go soichinn an crann cétna, gur fhásamair ri aroile,⁷ go ndearnaidh damh díomhór díom-sa agus lomán lom lán-chríon do’n chrand so ad-chidh-se; go bhfuil na mhaosgán mhór mhadhmtha gan bhláith gan toradh ná duillemhár aniugh iar ccathamh a rae agus a shaoghail. Ciodhtrácht do chuirios lucht chūig céad bliaghan do leath díom. Gidheadh ní fhaca agus ní chuala ris an rae sin ionnshamhuil na hoidhche araoir.’

Gluaiseas Léithín roimhe, d’iondsuighe a éan, agus ar

¹ Thus my MS. ; the others read ‘cuín,’ perhaps ‘cathain,’ ‘when.’

² All the MSS. read thus, senselessly, which shows they are descended from the same recension, the original scribe of which wrote this line twice by mistake.

³ Dubhchosach and Dubhcosaig MSS.

⁴ All the MSS. read ‘go raibh na mhóir,’ but this locution seems strange.

⁵ My MS. reads ‘neóna.’

⁶ My MS. and 23, P. 18, read ‘a ccuireadh. Neither reading is clear.

⁷ Ria ar oile, MSS.

rochtain chum baile do, adubhairt an dara héan ris ‘An bfuairis fios ná fuasgladh an sgéil um a ndeachais?’

‘Ní bfuaras,’ ar Léithín, agus ro ghabh ic im-chasáoid ar an éan tré n-a bhfuair d’fuacht agus d’anró, go ndubhairt ‘cia aige a saoilfea a fhios d’fhágail dam anis?’ ar Léithín.

‘Atá’ fhios sin agam,’ ar an t-éan, ‘Dubhghoire, eadhon lon Chluana Ferta ¹ Bearacháin.

‘Maiseadh rachad d’á iondsuighe.’

Agus gér bhfada sin uaidh do ghluais roimhe no go rainig Cluain Ferta Bearacháin, agus ro bhi [ag] ² feithiomh na n-éanlaithe no go rainig leó sgur d’á n-innillt, go bfeaca Léithín aon éan bardha bárr-áluinn bioth-bhuadhach dá iondsuighe go méad loin agus go ngile eala. Agus iar tteacht chum láirthig do, fiafruigheas Léithín de ‘ar bh’é Dubhghoire é.’

Adubhairt-sion gur bh’ é.

Ro ba iongna iar na h-insin gur bh’ é, eadhon an lon do bheith gléigeal, go ndubhairt Léithín an laoi.

Cionnas sin a Dhubhghoire
Binn air do longhaire,
Minic chuiris cuardaighthe
Ar feadh fedha gormdhuille.

Ac Cluan ³ Ferta na sreabh mbán
Sire Mágh Life lomlán,
O Mágh Life ag teacht anshoir
Go Cill-dara na dheghaidh.

As sin duit-se chum do neid
A ceill do bhennuigh Bright,
Gairid duit léim tar gach fál
Gus an mbaile a mbí Berchán.

A Dhubhghoire innis dam
Do shaoghal iomáireamh
Macasamhla na maidne anae
An ttarthaidh tú a Dhubhghoire.

¹ E. V. 5 reads ‘Chuan Feasta,’ so does 24 A. E. and 23, G. 20. But Cluain Sosta was probably the original reading.

² All the MSS. omit ‘ag,’ which is often omitted in folk speech, but seldom in MSS.

³ Probably ‘a cluain,’ i.e. ‘from Clonfert’ is the right reading, but all the MSS. read as in text.

[DUBHGOIRE AG FREAGAIRT.]

Damh-sa sin badh saoghal slán
 Tri cét bliadhan roimh Bearachán
 Saoghal Bearachán do chaithios
 Do bhíos buan a mbith-mhaithes.

A n-aon aimsir do bhí Luighidh¹ na lann
 Sel na rigi ar Eirind,
 Ní bhfuaras ar muir nó ar tír
 Aithin na laoi² sin a Léithín.

‘Maiseadh as í mo thoisc féin chugad-sa,’ ar Léithín,
 ‘da fhiafruighe díot an ttárthaidh tú no ar cuimhin leat
 leithéad na maidne anae do theacht na dfaicsin riamh ar a
 holcas?’

‘Ni cuimhin liom go bhfeaca,’ ar Dubhghoire, ‘na fós
 baramhuil dí.’

Dála Léithín do bhí go doilg[i] dobronach oir níor liaide³
 a sgéala sin, agus gluaiséas roimhe go ráinig a nead agus na
 héain.

‘Ca sgéala agad aniugh?’ ar an t-éan.

‘Nár ba soirbh na sona dhuit-se choidhche,’ ar Léithín,
 ‘ní bhfuilid sin agam, acht mar do bhádh as ag imtheacht
 dam, acht amháin mēad mo thuirse ó gach siubhal agus
 aistear da ttig díot-sa dhéanamh dam, gan a bheag ná [a]
 mhór dod thairbhe ná dod t[h]oice dfhághuil dam’——go
 dtug sidhe sanntach, sár-nimbneach d’á ghulbán chum an
 éin, gur fhobair aghaidh fhoghladh agus fheólgasilte⁴ do
 dhenamh de, le h-aingideacht ó na bhfuair d’ole agus
 d’annro, ag dul go Cilldara,—gur sgréach an t-éan os árd go
 trom tuirseach éagcaointeach; go ndubhairt Léithín air sin.
 ‘As truagh agus as doilg liom má atá a fhios a n-Eirind ag
 aon duine, gar a fhios agam féin.’

‘Maiseadh go deimhin atá,’ ar an t-éan—ag Goll Easa-

¹ Laigh, 23, G. 20; the others read as in text.

² Thus E. V. 5 and 24, A 3. My MS. reads ‘laoidhe.’ The ‘a’ is omitted in my MS. and another. The correct reading was probably ‘aithin na laoi-se a Léithín.’

³ Thus 23, G. 20. My MS. reads ‘liaidhe.’

⁴ So all the MSS. read. Some do not aspirate the f of feólgasilte.

ruadh, agus ainm eile do Éigne Átha Seannaigh; agus is dearbh go bhfuil a fhios súd aige má tá san domhan a fhios.'

'Deacair liom imtheacht ar t'éolas,' ar Léithín, 'agus ¹ ro ba mhaith liom a fhios súd d'fágail.'

Gidheadh ro ghluais roimhe agus níor thúirling ² go ráinig Easruadh Mac Modhuirn, gur ghabh ag breithniughadh agus ag mion-fhéachain na hEasa uaidh, go bhfeaca an t-éigne ag innilt for san ath, gur bheannaidh do, go ndubhairt 'sádhaile sin a Ghoill, ní h-ionnan sibh agus sinne, oir ní hionand galar dúinn, agus adubhairt an láoi.

[LÉITHÍN]

Sádhaile sin a Ghoill go ngráin
Mo ³ sruith a ndeachais na dáil,
Ní hionand sibh agus sinne
Siubhalach orm da indsin.

As chugad tánag óm' thig
A Ghoill Easaruadh rómhaig,⁴
Cáidhe do chuimhne go ceionn
No cáidhe h'aois re h-áireamh?

[GOLL AG FREAGAIRT]

Mo chuimhne, as fada soin
Nocha hurasa a h-áirimh,
Ní bhfuil ar talamh ná a ttor ⁵
Neach amhla acht mé am' aonar.

As cuimhin liom, ní cuimhne gearr,⁶
Ceatha ⁷ díothchuir na díleand.
Ceathrar ban is ceathrar fear
Ro bhí ionna ndiaig san domhan.

¹ Even in modern Irish one often finds 'agus' written where one would rather expect 'acht.'

² All the MSS. except mine read 'thúrn.'

³ This is a dialectic Munster form of 'iomdha.'

⁴ So in E. V. 5, but 'ró mhoig' in my MS., and 23, P. 18, and in 23, G. 20. 'rónach,' i.e. 'full of seals,' is the adjective applied to Assaroe in the old poem of the Hawk of Achill. This may be a corruption of it.

⁵ 'Na a ttor,' E. V. 5. The other MSS. omit the 'a.'

⁶ MSS. 'géar,' but this does not rhyme with 'díleann.'

⁷ 'Catha' MSS. But this is evidently incorrect, for the prose reproduces the word 'ceatha' which makes sense.

THE CELTIC REVIEW

Cuimhne liom Pattruig na ¹ bpeann
Do theacht a ttír n-Eireand
Is Fír Bolg, feardha an dáil,
Do theacht ó'n nGréig da gabháil.

Fiondtainn as fíorchuimhne liom
Do theacht sa tír-se láimh liom,²
Ceathrar fear lucht a loinge
Sa ceoimhlíon do bhanchoire.

Cuimhne liom Parrthalan cáin
Do ghabháil righe ar Olltuibh,
Cuimhin liom seal roimhe sin
Glas mac Aimbíthe a n-Eamhuin.

Tárta mé maidionn nár mhín
Ar an abhainn-se a Léithín,
Ní bfuaras maidiond mar sin
Riamh roimpe ná na degheidh.

Do rugus léim anáirde
Fa ceannaibh mo chruadh-chairrge,
Sul do thúrnas dam thig
Do bhí an lind na lic oidhridh.

Rug orm an fiolar os tír
Sídhe anfadhach ainmhín,
Do rug leis mo rosg gorm-ghlan
Damh-sa níor shoirbh an saoghal.

‘Maiseadh así mo thoisc féin chugad,’ ar Léithín, ‘dá fhiafruighe díot an cuimhin leat leithead na maidne anaé?’

‘Do chonarc go dearbh,’ ar Goll, ‘as cuimhin liom teacht na dílinde, agus as cuimhin liom teacht Parrtholáin 7 Fionntaind, 7 chlanna Neimheadh 7 Fírbolg 7 Tuatha De Danann ³ agus Foghmoraigh agus maca Mileadh 7 Pattruic mac Alphruind, agus as cuimhin liom gur chuir Éire na diormadh sin di, agus is cuimhin liom maidionn badh mheasa na’n mhaidion sin, agus maidionn eile a n-éagmus an mhór-cheatha dár’ thuit an Dilend. Agus níor fhág an díle acht aon cheathrar amháin fear agus ceathrar ban, eadhon Noe mac Laimhfhíadhach 7 a bhean 7 Sem Cam agus Japhet a thriúr ban: gurob iad sin lucht na h-airce go deimhin.

¹ The ‘na’ added from E. V. 5 and 23, A, 3.

² Thus in the other MS. My MSS. reads ‘bhláith úir.’

³ All the MSS. read ‘deanainn’ or ‘deanaind.’

Agus ní áirmhionn duine ná canóinn gur fhág Dia duine ar domhan gan díothughadh acht an t-ochtair sin. Gidheadh áirmhíd eoluigh[h] go fírinneach gur fhág Dia cethrar oile ag comeud eóil agus cineóil agus ag gabháil geinealaigh cómhchoitchiond, óir nior bh'áil le Dia sgēla na ndaoine do dhithchealadh, agus ro fhág Fiontáinn mac Laimhfhiadhach ¹ re fuineadh na gréine teas, ag coiméad feasa iarthair an domhuin, agus fós Friomsa Furdhachta ag coiméad tighernais an tuaisgirt, agus an faidh agus an t-easbadh, ² ag deaghordughadh an deisgirt, agus asiad sin do bhí beó a n-éagmuis na h-áirce, gur cuimhin liom-sa an lucht sin uile, a Léithín,' ar Goll, 'agus ní fheaca samhul na maidne sin ar a h-olcas acht aon maidiond amháin badh mheasa 'ná'n mhaidionn sin a deire-si, agus 'ná gach maidiond d'á ttáinig riamh roimpe: eadhon lá n-aon dá rabhas-[s]a ar an lind-si, go bhfeaca eitiolachán ³ niamh-dhathach ball-chorcra os mo chiond anáirde, gur lingear da ionnsuighe, agus sul thúirling mé do rinne ⁴ áoin-leic oidhridh don lind uile, tar mh'éis, ⁵

¹ This seems a reminiscence of the curious fragment at f. 120, . b . line 30, of 'Lebor na h-uidre,' which, so far as I know, has never been printed before :

Fintan mac Bocra mac lamiach is é in tres fer táníc in erind ria ndilind. Is eside ro chomet senchasa iarthair in betha . 7 . Espáin 7 in Eirind 7 in each conair do deochator goédil ar chena. . l . bliadain re ndilind 7 . u . c . 7 u . mbliadna iar dilind a aes conerbailt ac dún Tulcha. Féren mac sisten mac Iafed mac Nóe isé ro chomét senchas tuascirt in betha iar dilind otha slebi Rip atuid, etc. . . . Fors. mac Electra mic Seth mic Adaim isé ro chomhet senchas asarda o muir Fors in golgotha, etc. . . . The fourth Shanachie was 'Annoit mac Ethioir,' etc. Is iat sin in cethrar ro chomet senchas in betha—— The tract ends unfinished, the next page being lost.

Translation.

Fintan son of Bocra, son of Lamech, he was the third man who came into Ireland before the deluge; it was he who kept the histories of the west of the world, namely, Spain and Ireland, and moreover the history of each road which the Gaels went. Fifty years before the deluge and five hundred and five years after the deluge was his age when he died at Dún Tulcha. Feren mac Sisten, son of Japhet, son of Noah, it was he who kept the history of the north of the world after the deluge from the Riphean mountains north, etc. . . . Fors, son of Electra, son of Seth, son of Adam, it is he who kept the Assyrian history. . . . These are the four who kept the history of the world.

² So in my MS. 24, A 3 reads 'an tseab-' 23, G. 20 reads easb, perhaps 'easbal' or 'easbog' is the right reading. The name of the faidh has evidently dropped out.

³ 23, G. 20 reads 'eitiolán.'

⁴ In modern Irish, especially in parts of Munster, this 'rinne' has a passive sense as here, i.e. 'was made,' 'turned into,' or 'became.'

⁵ MSS. read 'tairmhéis.'

gur ro chongaidh mé for san oidhridh sin, go ttainig an fiolar dom'¹ ionnsuidhe ar mo fhaicsin do, go ttug sidhe sanntach sár-nimhneach orm, gur bhain súil² as mo cheann. Agus ro badh do m' thruime nár fhéad mé thógbháil, gur theilg an tsúil fá'n lind, agus ro chuireamar araon sparúind re chéile gur bhriseamair an t-oidhridh le spreoighiocht³ na sparúinne sin, agus le hiliomad na fola flann-ruadh ag teibiorsan óm' shúil-se, gur briseadh an oidhridh de sin, go ndeachas-a fá'n lind ar éigin, gur chailleas mar sin mo shúil, agus as dearbh a Léithín,' ar Goll, 'gur b' í sin aon mhaidion as measa go mór da bhfeacas-a riamh, occus as measa 'ná an mhaidiond sin adeir tusa.

Dála na ecléireach do chomharlighedar re chéile go bhfanfaidis re sgéala do bhreith ortha. Gidheadh fuaradar an oiread san d'ole agus d'annró d'fhuacht agus d' imshníomh an oidhche sin nar fhéadadar fullang re fuireach. Agus adubhairt Maolán an cléireach 'guidhim féin an Coimhdhe comhachtach agus an Trionóid toghuidhe go ttig an fiolar, eadhon Léithín, leis an sgéal do geabh, go Cluain, da innsin do Chiarán.'

Dála Ghoill, air sin ro fhiafruig do Léithín cia chu[i]r ag iarraidh na sgéal sin é.

'An dara h-éan do m'éanaibh féin.'

'As truagh sin,' ar Goll, 'as mó gur sine é sin ná tusa 7 'ná mise leis. Agus ag sin an tí bhain mo shúil asam-sa, agus da ma[dh] áill leis na sgéala d'innsin duit-se as dō badh usa é, agus⁴ asé sin an sean-phréachán Eachlach.⁵ Acus ro mhaoluighedar a ingne le h-ársuigheacht, gurab é as beatha dhó ó chuaidh a lúith 7 a lámhach agus a shalāthar féin as, eadhon bheith ó gach neid go chéile ag múcha[dh] agus ag marbhadh ealta gacha héin, agus aga ttumailt. Agus da bhrigh sin ní bhéara tusa beó ar h'éanuibh féin. Agus a

¹ MSS. read 'dam.'

² O Longan and 23, P. 18, contract this word thus ○.

³ 23, 9, 20 reads 'spreóingeacht' so far as I can decipher it. 24, A 3 and E. V. 5 read 'spreónghiocht.' 23, P. 18, reads as in text.

⁴ 'As' MS. (?) 'mbreireadh' read 'de mbeire tusa beó air,' all MSS.

⁵ Recté 'Acla.'

charuid ghrádhach as féarr do chonarc riamh, da mbeireadh ¹ tusa beó air, dhul tar ais cuimhnigh ar imir sé ort, agus díoghail na héain agus t'aisdior agus do thuras air, agus fós cuimhnigh mo shúil do dhíoghail air.'

Ceileabhras Léithín do Gholl 7 gluaisios roimhe a bhfrithin na conaire cétna, in a réimib ro luatha, oir badh deimhin leis na béaradh beó ar a éanaibh na ar [a] adhbhadh.

Agus ro bhí adhbhar na hegla sin aige, óir ní bhfuair acht áit na neide, ar dith a éan, ar n-a n-ithedh do'n phréachán Eachlach. Go nach fuair Léithín do tharbha a thosga acht easbadh a éan. Agus ro imthig an sean-phréachán Eachlach d'éis na foghla sin do dhénamh go nár rug Léithín air. Agus ní mó do fheidir cá conaire ina ndeachaid.

Nídh eile fós, do b'éigin do [Léithín] dul gach Luan tré ghuidhe an chleirice go Cluain. Do ² chuaidh an Fiolar ar bind mhór chluig-tighe Chluana, gur fhoillsigh é féin don Naomh éarlamh, eadhon Ciarán, go raibh ag fiafruighe sgéala dhe. Agus adubhairt Léithín gur ³ dhoilge leis 'ná sin an imtheacht 7 a dheacair féin.

Annsin adubhairt Ciarán go ttiubhradh logha agus sochar a sgéaluigheachta do, edhon gach uain do h-inneós-daoi a eachtra da madh doisoineann no fearthaind díomhór do bhiadh an tan sin ann, a thurnamh a soinnin agus a so-aimsir.

Agus adubhairt Léithín gur ro thuigeadh do nách iat na h-éain na an adhbhadh do gheabhadh uadha, agus ó nách iat, gur mhaith leis gan a thuras ná [a] aistear do dhul a n-aisge. Agus innisios Léithín a imthechta ó thús go deireadh,⁴ amhuil adubhramair reómhaind. Gonab í sin Eachtra Léithín, go nuige sin.

CRÍOCH.

¹ 'Da mbeireadh (*sic*) ortsa beó' my MS.

² MSS. read 'mar,' which seems awkward.

³ One would expect 'nár,' or else to read 'gur dhoilge leis sin "na" a imtheacht, etc., fein.

⁴ All the MSS. except mine add here the words 'gur sgribomur mar a fuaramar reómhainn iad *acht* muna ndearnamar focal dearmaid.'

GRAZING AND AGRESTIC CUSTOMS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES

BY ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

(Continued from p. 54.)

SOUTH UIST

THE Island of South Uist forms an oblong, with a range of high hills on one side, and long level low-lying moors and machairs dotted with shallow lakes on the other side. The people live on this side. In the time of the Clanranalds, the crofters had the hills for their sheep and cattle, and they say that they were very comfortable. Since then the greater and better part of the machair has been cleared of crofters, and their townlands converted into large farms, with the whole of the hills added thereto. Some of the evicted people were chased among the hills, caught, tied, and shipped like felons to Canada, against which the Canadian press of the day raised a strong protest.

The rest of the evicted crofters were thrust in here and there among the other crofters, who were made to share their rocks and morasses with them. And there they are—‘Na biastan mora ’g itheadh na biastan beaga, agus na biastan beaga deanamh mar a dh’ fhaodas iad’—The big beasts eating up the little beasts, and the little beasts struggling as best they can—‘the survival of the fittest.’

One acquainted with these islands is struck with the coincidence, that the large farms are made from the best farming lands, while the crofters are huddled together, generally among rocks and bogs. No crofters have, however, been removed for the present highly respected and intelligent tacksmen of the Long Island.

When the crofters had the hills, they migrated to them every summer season with their flocks. They remained in the hills till their corn was ripe for shearing when they

and their cattle returned to the townland. Apart from the benefit derived by the flocks from the change of grass, the grass at 'home' thus left free was of inestimable advantage to the stock during autumn and winter. The stock needed but little house feeding, and that mostly during spring.

The crofters say that the change from the low-lying plains to the bracing air of the hills was of benefit to themselves, and that as a consequence complaints common among them now were unknown. They talk with delight of the benefit derived in mind, body, and substance from their life among the hills. I entirely agree with them, and believe that these shrewd people are quite equal to their critics.

There is one place of which the old people speak with particular favour. This is the factor's farm of Ormacleit, out at the mouth of Lochaoineart, and at a place called Airi-nam-ban, the 'shealing of the women.' There had been a religious house here in the olden times, and from this circumstance the place is named.

These holy sisters had always the good taste to select or get selected for them the best situations for their dwellings. This place is no exception. One of the many beautiful descriptions of a beautiful place, in the old Gaelic tales, runs thus—

Grianan-aluinn aona chrainn,
Air chul gaoithe, air aodan greine,
Far am faicamaid an saoghal uile,
'S far nach faiceadh duin' idir sinn.

A lovely summer shealing of one tree,
Behind the wind, in front of the sun,
Where we could see the world all,
But where no man could us see.

Here the good nuns had such a place to their hearts' desire. Behind rises Benmore 2030 feet high, the base of it winding round this beautiful spot, and sheltering it from the west, north, and east. In front is the Minch and the sea away

as far as the eye can reach beyond Coll and Tiree, dotted with white sails bending in various directions. On the left is Skye, with the snow-capped Coolin Hills, their serrated peaks piercing the ever-changing clouds; while ranged away to the south are the hills of Arasaig, Ardnamurchan, and of Mull, in the foreground of which lie, stretched in broken chain, the peaks of the Small Isles and the low-lying islands of Coll and Tiree. Right below this beautiful summer shealing are ivy-clad sea precipices of great height, the home of the king of birds—*righ nan ian*, the golden eagle. The fine anchorage, close below to the right, is the sporting ground of varieties of fish. The bent back of the old man who first spoke of this place to me straightened up, the dim blue eyes, which had seen the changes of ninety-nine years, sparkled with light, and the weak voice trembled with animation as he graphically described the place to me, and the joyous life they lived at the shealing there,

In life's morning march, when his bosom was young.

The smoke of the whole people, nuns and all, now ascends through the chimney of a single shepherd.

Highlanders are essentially musical. Of old they had songs for all the avocations in which they engaged, particularly for love, war, and the chase. Many of these are beautiful—all are chaste. They had labour songs, with which they accompanied themselves in rowing, shearing, spinning, fulling, milking, and in grinding at the quern. If they sing less now, their silence is due to repression from without.

The tendency of modern cultured life is to have prayers and hymns for special occasions. These old people, whom it is the fashion for those who know them least to condemn, had special prayers and special hymns for every occasion.

Correctly speaking, the hymns and prayers were one, the prayers being rendered into rhyme to help the memory. There was a special prayer on going to sea, a special prayer on going to the shealing, a special prayer for resting the

fire at night, for kindling it in the morning, for lying down at night, for rising up in the morning, for taking food, for going in search of sheep, cattle, and of horses, for setting out to travel, and for other occasions.

These hymns having been asked for by members of the Commission during their Inquiry, a few are given at the end of this paper.

Lying across the north end of South Uist proper, and separated by a ford nearly a mile wide, is the Island of Benbecula—Beinn-nam-faothla—‘hill of the fords.’ Stretching out from the south end of the island, and across the east end of the Sound of Barra, is the rocky island of Eirisgey whereon Prince Charles landed from France when he came to claim the crown of his fathers in 1745. These islands are in the parish of South Uist.

On a rock above water-mark is a sandy knoll whereon he scattered, on landing, the seed of a *Convolvulus major*. The seed grew, and the plant has spread over the place. The flower is pink, with a mauve tinge, and is very pretty. A patriotic gentleman from Harris, Dr. Robert Stewart, built a wall round Coilleag a Phrionns, the ‘Knoll of the Prince,’ as the place is called.

Seven miles north from the south end of South Uist, at Airi-mhuillinn—the ‘Mill Shealing’—are the ruins of the house where Flora Macdonald was born. In the neighbourhood is a boulder where she met the Prince by appointment when she undertook to take him to Skye. Should not these places be marked and held sacred for all time coming?

Six miles further north is Houghbeag, where was born Neil Macdonald father of Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum. This tribe of the Macdonalds is locally called Mac Eachain. Neil Mac Eachain was the son of a small farmer at Houghbeag. He had been educated for the priesthood, but did not take orders. He had been schoolmaster for the parish and was acting as tutor in the family of Clanranald, when Lady Clanranald sent him to Skye with Flora

Macdonald and her Irish spinning maid 'Betty Burke,' the Prince.

Neil Macdonald or Mac Eachain, for the patronymic was used quite as commonly as the clan surname, followed the Prince to France. He married, and his son entering the army, rose to the rank of Marshal of France and Duke of Tarentum.

In 1825 Marshal Macdonald came to South Uist to see his relations. On coming in sight of the river, near which his father was born, he raised his arm, and exclaimed, 'That is the River of Hough. I know it from my father's description. Many a salmon my father killed there.' On meeting his blind old uncle, he embraced him affectionately, and granted him and his daughter an annuity, and gave to various other relatives sums of money.

He took potatoes with him from the garden his father's father had had, and earth from the floor of the house wherein his father had been born. This earth was, by his orders, put into his coffin when he died. He parted with his relatives with many mutual regrets. That was a great day in Houghbeag!

Right across the hills from Houghbeag, after a two hours walk, is Corradal, in which is the small cave where Prince Charles lived in hiding, fo choill, 'under the wood,' as the people say, for six weeks. The cave is in the face of a rock on the north side of a narrow glen.

Chambers says that about ninety persons knew that the Prince was in Corradal. He might safely have said nine hundred—yet no one attempted to betray him. The place was full of crofters then, though there are none now within many miles. The Rev. John Macaulay, grandfather to Lord Macaulay, was minister in the parish at the time.

ARDNAMURCHAN PLACE-NAMES

ANGUS HENDERSON

STERN, rocky, and somewhat uninteresting Ardnamurchan undoubtedly is when viewed from the sea. Its coast-line consists for the most part of tall, grey, jutting cliffs, its inland spaces look flat, drab and monotonous, and, in most cases, its slopes and gorges are almost entirely free from sylvan embellishments. Thus it appears to the tourist who sails round its bluff and captious headland.

On landing, however, one finds an instant change coming over the spirit of the dream. The hills, especially those to the west, consist of palæozoic rocks, with a carpeting of very fine pastoral soil. They are singularly green and shapely, and the straths and valleys singularly sweet and fertile. Much of the seaboard consists of well-cultivated arable land. In summer the place is rich in lovely landscapes and seascapes, and affords, on its north side, sunsets of surpassing beauty. Its people are very courteous, hospitable and intelligent, and speak the old language with great purity and much grammatical precision.' It is the region, *par excellence*, of poetry and romance, of tale and legend, of battered keeps and interesting antiquarian remains. In the remote past it was the scene of many stirring incidents, and there can still be pointed out many fields and moorland tracts where historical encounters took place among rival clans.

As was the case with the greater part of the West Highlands, Ardnamurchan was, for many centuries, the subject of frequent strife and repeated conquests. Of these conquests ample evidence is still available in the place-names of the district. There can be little doubt that the country was once peopled by some branch of the ancient Briton or Pictish race. In the sixth century there was an influx of

Scots from Ireland, and there is good ground for believing that Ardnamurchan, as well as the major portion of the territory now known as Argyllshire, was occupied by the acquisitive Dalriads. The neighbouring island of Iona was granted by one of the alien 'kings' or chiefs to St. Columba, and proof can be adduced that the gifted missionary and his friends paid many visits to Ardnamurchan and traversed it from end to end. Tradition associates a spring at Ardslygnish with one of these pilgrimages, and it still goes by the name of *Tobar Chaluim Chille* (St. Columba's Well). An elevated ridge high up the hill separating Ockle from Gortferen is known as *Suidhe Fhìonain* (St. Finnan's Seat); and it is a curious fact that from this spot a view is obtainable of that beautiful broom-clad island in Loch Shiel where this colleague of St. Columba (as he is supposed to have been) shortly afterwards founded a church. The island still bears St. Finnan's name, and it may be mentioned that a square bronze bell, old as the days of Calum Cille, still rests on the altar slab of its ruined chapel. The assumption is that St. Finnan landed at Kilchoan, and, in making his way towards Loch Shiel, sat down to rest on the commanding eminence above Gorten. In the enchanting and much-embracing panorama in front, he caught a glimpse for the first time of Loch Shiel and its fair green island. There and then he resolved to make it the centre of his missionary operations. St. Finnan is called of 'Swords in Leinster,' and was latterly a leper, taking the infection for penance. Another hill reminiscent of Dalriadic sway in Ardnamurchan is *Suidhe Mhic Dhiarmaid* (son of Diarmid's Seat), between Fascadale and Kilchoan. Diarmid is said to have died about the year 550. Irrespective of place-names we have it on the written authority of Adamnan that the Irish immigrants had the freedom of Ardnamurchan, the place being repeatedly mentioned by the illustrious biographer.

Early in the ninth century a new disturbing force appeared and asserted itself along the western seaboard. The Norwegian Vikings found their way thither; and, for

upwards of four hundred years, held sway from Caithness to the south of Scotland, and even to the Isle of Man and Dublin. Ardnamurchan did not escape their attentions, and it is clear that they made themselves very much at home in its secluded glens and along its white, sandy bays.

Among notable Norsemen, the two of whom we have the earliest information were Ketil Flatnefr (the flat-nosed) of Raumsdal, and Olaf the White of the Norwegian uplands. Olaf married a daughter of Ketil, and, taking to piracy, conquered Dublin and the surrounding country. There he naturally took up his abode, giving himself the style and designation of 'king.' Ketil was also a sea-robber, but, for a long time, he continued to make Raumsdal his home and headquarters. Political troubles in his own country forced him, however, to make a grand trek with all his kindred. The adventurous band decided to 'go westward over the sea,' for they 'liked it well there.' The resolution was put into effect, and in due time the worthy chief and his followers settled down in Scotland. By the Hebrideans, Ketil was called Caittil Fin, and it is known that he died somewhere in the west of Scotland. It has been suggested that his burial-place is the stone circle, Greideal Fhinn (Fingal's Griddle), situated at Ormsaigmore, and still in a good state of preservation. In connection with sepulchres the word *greideal* introduces a puzzling element. Some ingenious antiquaries have twisted it to *creathall* (cradle), but they have succeeded only in shifting the difficulty without removing it. It is, therefore, better to adhere to the time-honoured form of *greideal*. It has often occurred to me that the perplexing word might be simply Caittil, the first part of the ancient hero's cognomen. The name might originally have been, say, Cladh Chaitleil Fhinn. In the process of time an abbreviation might be naturally effected by dropping the first word, the other two being retained and gradually converted into their present-day shape. My proposition, I confess, leads farther than is warranted into

the field of speculation, but there can be little harm in putting it forth for what it is worth.¹

It was in the twelfth century that there appeared on the scene a chief of the old native race—Celtic or Scot—who set himself the task of vindicating and restoring the glory and rights of the people to which he belonged. It was the renowned Somerled, and such were his energy and talents that the native inhabitants promptly accepted him as their natural leader. It was in the region comprising Ardnamurchan and Morvern that he struck his first effective blow and inflicted a somewhat crushing defeat on the Norwegians living on either side of Loch Sunart. Somerled followed up his success so well that he made himself master of a large part of Argyll, assuming the title of Regulus, or Lord of the Isles. He speedily attained to much power and influence, and had few rivals among the chiefs of Scotland. He married in 1140 Ragnhildis, daughter of Olaf the Red, Norwegian king of the Isles. This Olaf was murdered, fourteen years later, by his nephews, and was succeeded by his son, Godred the Black. With the new king Somerled was soon at war, their family relationship being incapable of curbing their racial antipathy. A bloody battle in which they engaged in 1156 was indecisive in its result, and, soon afterwards, both parties found it expedient to enter into a peace treaty. In terms of this agreement Godred ceded to Somerled and his sons all the isles south of Ardnamurchan except Man, retaining for himself that island, the peninsula of Ardnamurchan and all the islands north of Ardnamurchan Point. This arrangement accounts for the fact that, down to the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Norwegian chiefs continued in successive occupation of this

¹ Some four years ago Mr. Symington Grieve made a careful survey of the megalithic chambers in question, and his very exhaustive report was printed in the *Transactions* (1910-11) of the *Edinburgh Field Naturalists' and Microscopical Society*. His general conclusion was that 'in all likelihood the Greidell got its name from being associated in some way unknown to us with the great Celtic hero, Finn MacCumhail.' Mr. Grieve does not claim, however, that on this particular point the available evidence is very convincing.

district. It was about this time—in 1266, to be exact—that there was concluded a treaty by which Norway finally ceded its rights in the Western Isles to the Crown of Scotland. Four years later Muchdragan was slain in a manner that I shall describe farther on. He was Mac Rìgh Lochluinn, and Ardnamurchan was his patrimony. On the death of this magnate, following as it did the abandonment of the King of Norway's claims, Angus Mor of Isla sent a goodly force headed by his son John, known as Iain Sprangach (the bold), to take possession of Ardnamurchan. John was successful in his expedition and ejected the Norwegian settlers. With the help of his father, who was not without influence at court, he obtained a grant of the territory by royal charter; and his descendants, under the clan name of MacIain, continued to hold it until the beginning of the seventeenth century.

I have traced these historical events because a knowledge of the successive settlements is essential if an intelligent endeavour is to be made to find the derivation of the local place-names. In view of the long period in which Ardnamurchan was under Norwegian dominance, it is not surprising to find that many of its appellations are unmistakably Norse in origin. Those that are of a Pictish brand are very few. An outstanding—I might almost say a distinguishing—feature of the names here is that their grammar is excellent, if not quite perfect. To judge this point one must be conversant with the local renderings, and not rely on those given in survey maps and some other printed works.

The ancient and poetical name of Ardnamurchan is *Rìoghachd na Sorch*a—the Kingdom of Sorch—a but no one seems to be capable of hazarding even a conjecture of the origin or meaning of the high-sounding phrase. It was probably coined by bardic licence, and used exclusively for bardic purposes. Even the present name—Ardnamurchan—has always been a hard nut for etymologists to crack, and, to the present day, they offer an opinion with con-

siderable reserve. Nevertheless, there is at our disposal quite a large number of very creditable postulations from which to make a selection.

The name is wholly Gaelic, and its first two parts present no difficulty. *Aird* is the height, and *nam* is the genitive plural of the article. The remaining parts, *murchan*, have been variously interpreted as *mór chuan* (great seas); *muir chon* (sea-hounds, an old Gaelic name for whales); *muirchol* (the hazel sea, *col* being the old form of *calltunn*); *muirchol* (the sea of Coll island, a member of the Inner Hebrides separated from Ardnamurchan by about ten miles); and *murdhuchan* (mermaids, sea-nymphs or syrens). 'The height of the great seas' is, probably, the most common and popular solution of the problem, and 'the height of the mermaids' is favoured by Dr. H. Cameron Gillies. The sea-hazel idea originated with Bishop Reeves, and received the approval and sanction of Dr. Alexander MacBain on the ground that 'there is no personal name of the form *murchol*.' It must be stated, however, that the local conditions give little support to the ingenious theory of Dr. Reeves. It is not probable that hazel predominated in the ancient woods of Ardnamurchan. It was, certainly, fairly plentiful, as were also oak, rowan, alder, ash, elm, willow and other exogenous varieties. The copses most freely distributed in this region were of birch; and, if the name was to have a sylvan significance, the abundant birch would probably be favoured in preference to the scanty hazel. Further than to raise this objection I refrain from offering any opinion on a thorny and rather vexing subject.

Two of the oldest ways of writing the name were Artdamuirchol and Artdaib Muirchol, described as a 'rough and stony district.' Other forms were Ardenmurich (1293), Ardnamurchin (1307), Ardnamurcho (1478), Ardnamurquhæ (1494), Ardnamvrchane (1515), Ardnamurquhan (1519), and Ardnamorquhay (1550).

Townland Names.

ACARSAID (Gaelic, Acairseid) is port, haven, anchorage, and is appropriate.

ACHATENY (G. Acha-teine), the field of fire.

ACHNAHA (G. Acha-na-h-àtha), the field of the ford, the ford being on the rather large stream known as Allt Uamha na Muice.

ACHOSNICH (G. Ach'-osnaich), the field of sighing.

AHARACLE, not Acharacle as given in Post Office publications and documents (G. Ath-tharracaill), the ford of Torquil. The ford alluded to is on the river Shiel, which flows in front of this townland and separates it from Moss, Moidart. The Rev. Charles MacDonald, author of *Moidart, or Among the Clanranalds*, writing in 1886, stated: 'In Moidart we have a tradition that the Norwegians, who were pursued by Somerled, made a stand by the river-side, just below Aharacle Manse, and that their leader, Torquil, was slain there—hence the derivation of Aharacle—Ath Torquil, Torquil's ford.' The ford is still extant, and, I believe, used occasionally as necessity arises. A fine bridge now spans the river in the immediate neighbourhood. It will be noted that Father MacDonald did not comply with the Post Office form of spelling.

AULTBEA (G. Allt-beithe), birch-stream, not an uncommon name in the West Highlands.

ARDSLIGNISH (G. Aird-sleiginnis), the height of the sheltered valley frequented of cattle and abounding in shells. The name is every way apt and suitable. There is a height, and at its foot, to the east, a wooded valley bending round a pretty creek, the foreshore of which makes a brave display of various kinds of shells. Dr. Gillies believes that 'the Norsemen must have kept the Gaelic name and added their *nes*, or the natives must have become so familiar with the Norse tongue as to have fixed the *nes* themselves.' I admit that the *nes* would fit quite well from a geographical standpoint, for Ardsignish has a well-defined headland. On the

other hand, I can perceive no occasion for classifying the name as a hybrid, when the Gaelic *innis* applies quite as well as the foreign *nes*. It may be observed that the former word is used somewhat freely in Ardnamurchan to denote, not an island, but a sheltered valley, a field to graze cattle in, a pasture, or a resting-place for cattle. The old townlands of Innis nam Feorag, on the shore of Loch Sunart, and An Innis Dubh, on the shore of Camus na Lighe, are not insular, but both are sheltered, woody and grassy. The skerries, An t-Sleigneach Bheag and An t-Sleigneach Mhór, lie *ex adverso* of Ardslnish.

ARDTOE (G. Aird-tó), a hybrid of Gaelic *àird*, height, and Norse *haugr*, a 'howe' or burial-place.

ARIVEGAIG (G. Airidh-bheagaig), cf. the personal name Beagan (masc.), the sheiling of the little stream.

BRAEHOUSE (G. Bra'-h-abhsa) has been summarily dismissed by persons taking the survey map as their guide by designating it as new and English, 'the house of the hill.' There is, however, every reason to conclude that it is old and Gaelic. Close at hand there rushes past a turbulent little stream which was called An t-Abhsadh, or the erratic. Locally, *abhsadh* means a sudden deviation or the act of going off at a tangent, as well as the down-haul of a sail or slackening. Braehouse means simply the head of this burn.

BRANAULT (G. Bra'-nan-allt), the head of the streams.

BUARBLAIC (G. Buarblaig) is, perhaps, more difficult to account for than any other name in the district. The suggestion has been made that it might consist of three Norse words, *borg*+*bol*+*vik*, meaning 'fort-stead-bay.' This derivation seems, however, to be a trifle farfetched.

CAIM (G. a' Chaim), the bend. One authority, finding this name given on a survey map as Camphouse, has listed it as new and English. Locally it is not Camphouse in any language, and I cannot believe that it is modern.

CAMUSINNES (G. Camus-Aonghais), the bay of Angus. To whom the personal name applied cannot even be conjectured.

CAMUS NAN GEALL (G. Camus-nan-geall) is probably *camus*, bay, *nan*, of the, *ceall*, churches or cells. One can readily fancy that it would form an ideal retreat for a monk. It possesses a very pretty bay and suitable landing-place, a sandy beach of great loveliness, and a stretch of arable land extremely level and fertile and with an area of about ten acres. Almost in the very centre of this goodly field is an ancient burial-ground, called Cladh Chiarain, with the remains of a caibeal (chapel). It is said to have been long the burial-place of the Campbells of Lochnell, who acquired the Ardnamurchan estate about the middle of the seventeenth century. It contains two or three finely carved tombstones, and these, apart from weathering, are in an excellent state of preservation. Dr. Gillies states that Camus nan Geall 'should clearly be Camus nan Gall, the bay of strangers, the Norsemen, no doubt.' I cannot accept this view. In Ardnamurchan, the 'e' of *geall*, *ceall* and similar words serves a further purpose than that of giving the preceding consonant its slender articulation. It is really sounded, and in the diphthong 'ea' is not the less stressed of the two elements. Recognising its self-assertiveness, it is almost incredible that it should be permitted to find its way into such a word as *gall*. Cf. Loch nan Ceall, Mull.

CAMUSTORSA (G. Camus-tòrsa) is *camus*, bay, and *thjòrsa*, bull water. In the parish of Kilbrandon there is Torsa Island (Eilean Thòrsaidh).

CLADH CHATAIN (G. Cladh-chatain), the cemetery of Catan or Chatten. This personal name was borne by a chief of the Irish Piets, a friend of Comgall and Cainneach, and founder of a monastery at Kingarth, Bute. Cladh Chatain is marked by a tall, slender monolith of natural rock, of the kind known locally as *guraban*.

CORRIE-CHRAIC (G. Coire-chràic), a hybrid, *coire*, hollow (Gaelic) and *kraka*, crow (Norse), the hollow of the crow. *

CORRIEVULLIN (G. Coire-mhuilinn), the corrie or hollow of the mill. It was here that Alexander MacDonald, Mac

Mhaighstir Alasdair, taught a school, and in the immediate neighbourhood is 'Allt an t-Siucair' (the Sugar Brook) which formed the subject of one of his finest compositions.

CULORNE (G. Cùil-Eadhrain), the nook of Eadhran. The second part is probably a personal name. The place adjoins Cladh Chatain (see above), and Eadhran may have also belonged to the Irish Picts.

CUILOWEN (G. Cùil-eoghainn), the nook of Ewen. This Ewen may have been the Eoghann Cléireach referred to further on under Hill Names (Carn Mhuchdragain). The place is on the east side of Ben Hiant and Carn Mhuchdragain on the north-west, and the distance separating them does not exceed a couple of miles.

ELGADALE (G. Eilgeadal), noble dale; *elg*, noble, and *dalr*, dale. Dr. Gillies gives *elk*+*dalr*. A somewhat extensive valley situated on the sea-board between Ockle and Gortenfern, Elgadale was never a separate townland, but the name is here noted as being of some intrinsic interest.

EIGNEIG (G. Eigneig), oak bay, from Norse *eik*, oak, and *vik*, bay.

FASCADALE (G. Faisgeadal), field of the ship, from Norse *aska*, ship, and *dalr*, dale. The name fits the place, for it has a bay which is, with one exception, the safest and best on the north coast of Ardnamurchan. Norse *fauskr*, a dry log dug out of the earth, has also been suggested as a base.

GIRGADALE (G. Girgeadal), the field of gravel, from Norse *grjot*, gravel, and *dalr*, field. As a river name the first element is classical in the Cumberland form, Greta. In Lewis there is the river Creed—a' Ghriota.

GLENBORRODALE (G. Gleann-borrodail), the field of the fort town, from Norse *borg*, fort, and *dalr*, field. This is the derivation set forward by Dr. Gillies, who adds: 'The survey, or some wise person, thought that Borrodale was some great man, after whom the place was named, and they here marked his grave. Borrodale was not, however, a man, but the fine Borg-ar-dale, the castle-dale, the "larach" of which may be seen there to the present day as the Caisteal

Breac, or grey castle.' It is recorded, however, in a certain Norwegian Saga that, in the battle fought by the men of Morvern and Ardnamurchan, headed by the great Somerled, a Norwegian chief named Borradill was counted among the killed. It is assumed by many, not unreasonably, that it was he who gave his name to Glenborrodale.

GLENDRAIN (G. Gleann-an-draighinn), the glen of the thorn, briar or bramble.

GORTENEORNA (G. Goirtean-eorna), the cornfield of barley. *Goirtean* is from Gaelic *gart*, corn, and is allied to English *garden* and Norse *gardhr*.

GORTENFERN (G. Goirtean-fearna), the cornfield of alder. See Gorteneorna.

GLENMORE (G. an Gleann-mór) and GLENBEG (G. an Gleann-beag), the big glen and the small glen.

GOBSHEALACH (G. an Gob-seileach), the beak or point of willows.

INNIS (G. Innis-nam-feorag), the dell or valley of squirrels. The name is appropriate, for, to this day, the place, which is not an island, is well wooded and a favourite habitat of the frisky little quadrupeds. See Ardslygnish.

KILCHOAN (G. Cill-chòmhain), the church of St. Congan (later Comhghan). The ecclesiastic here alluded to took up his headquarters in the district of Lochalsh about 673, and began planting churches all along the West Coast. He is celebrated not only in Ardnamurchan, but also in Kilbrandon and Glenelg. He was the special patron of the old Glengarry family, and, among feast-days, was assigned the 13th July. His sister was Kentigerna, mother of Fillan (Faolan, little wolf), whose name is attached to more than one locality in Perthshire. Kentigerna is also commemorated on S. side of Loch Duich.

KILMORY (G. Cill-mhoire), the church of St. Mary. It has a cemetery, believed to be extremely old, in which are to be seen two interesting tombstones, which bear tokens of great age. They are both recumbent; and, while one bears the rough figure of a sword, the other is beautifully

carved in horse-shoe designs. There is, also, to be seen a rectangular block of stone, a couple of feet long, and showing on its upper surface a depression shaped like the inside of a bowl. The gouging has been executed with geometrical precision. The stone is locally known as *An Tobar Baistidh*, the christening font, and there is an erroneous belief that it is never quite dry. In the immediate vicinity is an eminence called *Druim na Croise*, the ridge of the cross, and a spring called *Tobar Màiri* (St. May's Well).

KENTRA (G. Ceann-trà), the head of the beach or bay.

LAGA (G. Làga), a hollow, from Norse *lágr*, low, and *ey*, an island.

LIATHADAIR (G. Liathadair), the grey grove.

MINGARY (G. Miongairidh) is regarded by all authorities as more or less a poser. It must be pointed out that the sound 'ng' does not belong to Gaelic, and that whenever it occurs it is an importation. Mingary is really Mioghairidh (Mewar, 1493), Meary (1505), and Mengarie (1496). Dr. MacBain was of opinion that the word here prefixed was Norse *mikil*, great, whose accusative is *mikinn*, *mikla*, and *mikit* in the three genders. The Norse *gardhr*, a garth or house and yard, is represented in the western islands and on the mainland by its diminutive *gerdhi*. Baile mór, or big townland, would suit the case, for Mingary Castle was always the seat of the Ardnamurchan chiefs. The name is met with in Moidart and Benbecula.

OCKLE (G. Ochdal) is probably Pictish. It is derived from *uchel*, high, a designation which its dark hills and the rugged banks of its river would undoubtedly merit. *Uchel* enters into the names of the Ochil Hills, Ochiltree and Oykel river. Dr. Gillies accords Ockle a Norse origin, *ok*, a yoke, and *dalr*, a field.

ORMSAIGBEG (G. Ormsaig-bheag) and ORMSAIGMORE (G. Ormsaig-mhór) are from Norse *ormr*, a snake or serpent, and *vik*, a bay, serpent-bay. The Gaelic *bheag* and *mhór* were added for the sake of expediency. Dr. Gillies is quite wrong in stating that 'Ormsaig' is masculine.

PLOCAIG (G. Plòcaig) is apparently a hybrid, consisting of Gaelic *ploc*, a lump, and Norse *vik*, a bay, the bay of the lump. The *ploc* is probably the huge, rocky, square-cut promontory—a' Charraig—immediately to the north of the little bay.

PORTUAIRK (G. Port-uairce) is believed to mean the muddy bay (Norse *saur*, mud, and *vik*, bay). *Port* is redundant, and its introduction is probably modern. An alternative derivation is *port shobhrag*, the bay of little primroses. I prefer this definition, for (a) the bay is not muddy, and (b) the surrounding fields and meadows, especially those lying to the east, abound in primroses and a great variety of beautiful flowers, all in their proper season.

SALEN (G. Sàilean), sea pond, from *sàil*, sea or salt water, and *linne*, pond. The inner reaches of Kilchoan Bay are termed *Sàilean Chill-chòmhain*.

SANNA (G. Sana). The place takes its name, which is thoroughly Norse, from an islet lying off its shore. It is made up of *sandr*, sand, and *ey*, an island.

SHIELFOOT (G. Bun-na-h-abhunn) is self-explanatory.

SKINID (G. Sginid) is from the Norse *skith*, tablet, log. The place is elevated, flat and level. In the parish of Tongue there is Skinid, in Caithness there is a parish Skinnnet, and in Iceland there is Skinnistadr.

SWORDLE (Suardail) is Norse in both its elements. *Sward* is a grassy surface of land, and *dalr* is a field. The name is singularly appropriate, for, the formation being limestone, the meadows and uplands offer the greenest and richest pasture. A possible derivation is the Norse *saudhr*, sheep, but I consider it less probable than *sward*. Dr. Gillies offers the Norse word *svartr*, black, but it is speedily put out of court by even a casual glance of the locality.

TARBERT (G. Tairbeart), roughly translated an isthmus, from *tar*, across, and *bert*, carry.

TOMACHROCHAIR (G. Tom-a'-chrochair), executioner's hill. It is situated within less than a mile of Mingary Castle, and, before hereditary jurisdiction was abolished, a gallow-

hill was a necessary adjunct to almost every Highland stronghold. In survey maps it is wrongly printed 'Tom a' Chrochadair.'

Hills and Mountains.

The majority of the names have only to be uttered, and their meaning is quite clear to any Gaelic person. They are mostly if not exclusively Gaelic.

A' BHEINN BHUIDHE (Achosnich and Glenmore), is the yellow hill; BEALACH A' BHEARNAIS (should probably be 'Bealach-a'-bhearnaidh'), the pass of the notch; BEINN AN LEOTHAID, the broad hill, or rather the hill of breadth; BEINN NA LOSGAINN, toad hill; A' BHEINN BHREAC, the speckled hill; BEINN LÀGA, Laga hill; BEINN NA H-IMEILT, hill of many streams; BEINN NAN ORD (singularly rich in iron ore), hill of hammers; BEINN NAN SEALG, hill of hunts; BEINN NA H-URCHRACH, hill of the shot, the cast or the throw; BEINN SHIANTA (English, Ben Hiant), charmed or blessed mountain; CÀRN A' BHALBHAIN, the dummy's cairn; CÀRN MÓR, the big cairn.

CÀRN MHUCHDRAGAIN is named after a Norwegian chief, to whom reference has already been made. The story of his connection with the hill here denominated was given anonymously and very correctly in the *Oban Times* of 15th February 1902, and I take the liberty of reproducing it, word for word: 'Just at the time when the power of the Norwegian Crown was relaxing its hold on the West—as nearly as we can judge about the year 1270—Ardnamurchan was still under the rule of a Norwegian chief of the name of Muchdragan Mac Rìgh Lochluinn, one of whose vassals, Evun Cléireach, lived near the foot of Ben Hiant. Muchdragan sent notice to Evun that he was about to pay a visit to his house. Evun surmised that the visit was due to the beauty of his wife, and, dreading the advent of his despotic superior, resolved, as his only means of safety, to kill his oppressor. Alone and armed only with his tuaghairm, or short battle-axe, he contrived, casually as it were, to meet

Muchdragan on the path along the north side of Ben Hiant. What passed between them is not told, but suddenly Evun hurled his axe with such precision that it sank into the Norseman's head, and, turning on the instant, he fled up a gully of the lower hill, closely pursued by Muchdragan's followers. As they neared the top, the foremost grasped Evun's dress, but it was light and loosely sewn, having been purposely made so as not to impede his movements. The garment gave way in the grasp of the pursuer, who fell back and upset his comrades as they struggled up the steep behind him. Profiting by the start so obtained, Evun gained the shore at Corrievullin, where he had already placed his family in waiting with a six-oared boat, and, shoving off, plied oars and sail until he reached Isla and sought the protection of the Earl there, Angus Mor. The hollow up which Evun fled is still called Glac na Tòire—the hollow of pursuit—and the lower hill itself Beinn na h-Urchrach, the hill of the cast or throw. The cairn—still visible—where the Norwegian was killed is called Càrn Mhuchdragain; and the spot where Evun gained his concealed boat is Sgùr Chùil Eoghainn, the rock of the nook of Evun.' The incident is narrated precisely to the same effect by Mr. Hector Rose MacKenzie (see *Celtic Magazine*, vol. ix. p. 488).

CREAG AN AIRGID, silver rock. How the hill came to be associated with the argentine metal is not known. It was the scene in 1519 of a fierce battle between Sir Donald of Lochalsh aided by Alexander of Isla, on one side, and John MacIain of Ardnamurchan, on the other. The MacIains were defeated with great slaughter, the chief and two of his sons, John of Sunart and Angus, being among the slain. The spots where tradition says these three are buried can yet be identified on a knoll close under the south-west side of Craig an Airgid and near the old march between the farms of Kilchoan and Glendrain. The followers who fell are buried a little more to the south, at a place which can also be pointed out.

CREAG AND LOBAIN, the craig of the basket, creel or timber frame ; CRUACH BHREAC, speckled stack ; DRUIM LIATH, grey ridge ; DRUIM NA SGRIOTHAIL, ridge of gravel (from Norse *skridda*, a landslip) ; DRUIM NA FÉITHE SEILICH, ridge of the willow ditch ; DUN MEADHONACH, middle heap or hillock ; DUN MÓR, big heap or hillock ; DUN MHURCHADH, Murdo's heap or hillock ; GLAIS BHEINN (stupidly given in survey maps as 'Beinn Ghlas'), grey hill ; LEAC AN FHÌDHLEIR, fiddler's hillside ; LEAC AN TUAIRNEIR, turner's hillside ; LEAC SHOILLEAR, bright hillside ; MĀM A' GHOILL, stranger's hill ; A' MHAOIL BHUIDHE (two, both headlands, one at Ormsaigbeg and another at Fascadale), yellow point or headland (from Norse *mulr*, a jutting rock, a snout).

MEALL AN FHÌREIN, eagle lump or hill, appears to be an ideal nesting-place for the king of birds. Once upon a time eagles did use to make their homes in various parts of rugged Ardnamurchan, but, for the last thirty-five years or so, they have given a wide berth to the mainland of North Argyll. In the early eighties the species had become so rare in these parts that the distinguished naturalist, 'Nether Lochaber,' stated in reply to a query addressed to him by a French scientist that he 'thought' it was not extinct in Scotland ! Thanks to the Wild Birds Protection Acts, the breed is now undergoing in many districts a numerical increase of quite a decided character.

MEALL AN TÀRMACHAIN, ptarmigan hill, is reminiscent of the days when the shy, finely-speckled member of the grouse family was yet a habitué of the high tops of this region. Be the reason what it may, the interesting species is now extremely rare, if not utterly unknown, in Ardnamurchan.

MEALL A' GHUIB SHEILICH, Gobshealach hill ; MEALL BUIDHE, yellow hill ; MEALL BHUN NA H-AIBHNE, Shielfoot hill ; MEALL CHLOICH AN DARAICH, stone of the oak hill ; MEALL EIGNEIG, Eigneig hill ; MEALL MEADHOIN, middle hill ; MEALL NAN CON, hill of the dogs ; MEALL NAN EACH,

hill of the horses; MEALL TOM A' GHANNTAIR, hill of the prison hillock; SGÙR NAM MEANN, peak of kids; SÌTHEAN (a very common name in the district), fairy hill; STALLACHAN DUBHA (two, one at Mingary and another at Aharacle), black precipices; SUIDHE MHC DHIARMAID, son of Diarmid's seat; and SUIDHE FHÌONAIN, St. Finnan's seat.

Lochs and Tarns.

LOCH A' MHADAIDH RIABHAICH, loch of the brindled dog; LOCHAN CHOIRE MHÀIM, loch of Corrie Maim; LOCHAN CHREAG NAN CON, loch of the rock of dogs.

LOCHAN NA CRANNAIGE, loch of the crannog. There is every likelihood that this tarn, lying half-way between Kilchoan and Achosnich, formed the site of a lake dwelling, but I am not aware that it has ever been the object of any close or systematic research on the part of archæologists.

LOCHAN DHÒMHNUILL DHUIBH, Black Donald's loch; LOCH AN DÓBHRAIN, the otter's loch; LOCHAN DUBH (there are several tarns so named), black loch; LOCH AN IME, butter loch; LOCHAN LOISGTE, burnt loch; LOCHAN NA CAISIL, loch of the wall or cruive; LOCHAN NA CÓINNICHE, mossy loch.

LOCHAN NA CURRA, loch of the heron. Misled by the survey map, Dr. Gillies takes exception to the grammar of this name, which he gives as 'Lochan a' Churra.' I happen to know the sheet of water very well, and also all the adult native people living within a dozen miles thereof, and I can say that I never heard it called anything but 'Lochan na Curra.' The spelling adopted by the survey is quite unwarranted, and, therefore, Dr. Gillies's strictures are entirely baseless.

LOCHAN DHOIRE NA TUAIDHE, loch of the axe grove; LOCHAN NA GLAICE, loch of the hollow.

LOCHAN NA GRUAGAICHE, loch of the nymph or elf. For a full and very interesting description of the habits and functions of the *gruagach*, see Dr. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, vol. ii. p. 289.

LOCHAN NIGHEAN AN T-SAOIR, loch of the carpenter's daughter ; LOCHAN SLIGNEACH, shelly loch.

LOCH MÙDAIL, possibly from Norse *modr*, muddy, and *dalr*, dale, loch of the muddy dale.

LOCH NA CAITHRIS (wrongly entered on the survey map as Lochan na Carraige), loch of night watching ; LOCH NAN GILLEAN, loch of the young men ; LOCH NAN SÌOMAN, loch of the heather ropes ; and LOCH SEILE (English, Loch Shiel), a name which comes from *sal*, seen in 'seile,' saliva.

Bays and Estuaries.

CAMUS NA LIGHE (misspelt 'Camus Liath' on survey maps), is made up of *camus*, bay, and *lighe*, flood, and is Gaelic in all its parts. The root *li* is found in Loch Leven and other names.

LOCH MÙIDEART, Loch Moidart (Moidart is from Norse *moda*, muddy, and *fjord*, ford or sea loch) ; PORT BÀN, white bay ; PORT A' CHOIT, bay of the coracle (*coit* being feminine, I admit the grammar is faulty in this case) ; PORT NA CROISE, bay of the cross ; PORT NAM MARBH, bay of the dead.

PORT NAN SPÀINNDEACH, bay of the Spaniards. The circumstances under which this name was bestowed are worth recalling. John MacIain of Ardnamurchan married in 1588 the widowed mother of Lachlan MacLean of Duart, a daughter of the Earl of Argyll. Owing to an old feud existing between him and MacIain, MacLean had opposed the marriage, but was ultimately prevailed upon to give a reluctant consent. The nuptials were celebrated in one of the MacLean residences at Torloisk, Mull. MacIain subsequently declined to assist his doughty step-son in his war-like enterprises, and the consequence was that he was treacherously seized at Torloisk and his followers were killed. The Ardnamurchan chief was kept in confinement in Duart Castle for more than a year, his life being only spared out of respect to his wife's entreaties. In the autumn of 1588, while MacIain was a prisoner, one of the vessels of

the scattered Spanish Armada was driven for shelter into Tobermory Bay. As the price of his assistance in repairing and revictualling her, MacLean stipulated for the help of a hundred of the Spanish soldiers. With these he plundered and harried the islands of Rum, Eigg, Canna and Muck, the last two being possessions of the Clan Iain. He afterwards laid siege for three days to Mingary Castle, but the defenders obtained reinforcements from Moidart and elsewhere and the aggressor was repulsed. The bay below Mingary Castle which was the landing-place of MacLean's Spanish allies still retains the name of Port nan Spàinn-deach. John MacIain was at last liberated in exchange for some MacLean prisoners. Three years later, when Lachlan was brought to trial in Edinburgh for his many misdeeds, the chief count in his indictment was that he had hired Spanish soldiers in his private quarrels. He was convicted, but James VI. commuted his sentence to a pecuniary fine.

Points and Headlands.

DUN GHALLAIN, dun or fort of the butter-bur; GARBH RUDHA, rough point; RUDHA NA H-ACAIRSEID, Acarsaid point; RUDHA AN DÙIN BHAIN, point of the white dun or hill; RUDHA AIRD DRUIMINNIS (not 'Druimnich,' as given on survey map and by Dr. Gillies), is *rudha*+*àird*+*druim*+*innis*, the point of the height of the sheltered valley; RUDHA BHUALTA (at Salen and Ockle), stricken point; RUDHA AIRD AN IASGAICH, point of the fishing height; RUDHA CARACH, tricky or inconstant point; RUDHA DUBH, black point; RUDHA EILGEADAIL, Elgadale point (see Townland names, Elgadale); RUDHA GHÀRAIDH LÉITH, point of the grey dyke; RUDHA LUINGEANNACH, ship-frequented headland; RUDHA MHÌLE, mile point; RUDHA MURCHANACH, Ardnamurchan point; RUDHA NA CAILLICHE, carline point; RUDHA NA FAOILINNE, gull point; RUDHA NAN SIONNACH, point of the foxes; RUDHA OCHDAIL, Ockle point; RUDHA RUADH, red point; RUDHA SHANA, Sanna point.

Islands and Skerries.

BOGHA CARACH, tricky or inconstant skerry (*bogha* is from Norse *bodi*, a breaker, a hidden rock); DUBH SGEIR, black rock (*sgeir* is from Norse *sker*, a sharp rock); EILEAN AIRD-TÓ, Ardtoe island (off Kilmory but in sight of Ardtoe); EILEAN CARACH, tricky island; EILEAN NAN SEACHD SEISRICHEAN, island of the seven teams; EILEAN NAN GILLEAN, island of the young men; EILEAN AN FHÉIDH, deer island; EILEAN MÓR, big island; EILEAN NA H-ACAIR-SEID, Acarsaid island; EILEAN RAONAILL, Ronald's island; EILEAN A' GHLINNE MHÓIR, Glenmore island; EILEAN MHIC NÉILL, MacNeill's island; GLAIS-EILEAN, grey island (pronounced as one word with the stress on the first syllable—Glaislein); MEALLAN ODHRA, dun lumps.

ORDHSA (English, Oronsay), is from Norse *orfiri*, ebb-tide, and *ey*, isle, indicating that the place is joined to the mainland at low water. The name occurs not infrequently in the West of Scotland.

REASGA (English, Riska), may conceivably be from Norse *hris*, brushwood, and *ey*, an isle, but good authorities are dubious on the point.

SGEIR AN DÙRDAIN, skerry of the humming noise; AN T-SLEIGNEACH BHEAG and AN T-SLEIGNEACH MHÓR, the little and the big skerry abounding in shells; SGEIR NAM MEANN, skerry of kids; SGEIR AN EIDIDH may probably be 'Sgéir an t-Séididh,' and mean windy skerry (it being at the same time confessed that 'eclipsis' is very rare in the Ardnamurchan dialect); and SGEIR A' CHAOLAIS, skerry of the narrow.

I may be permitted to add that I can vouch from personal knowledge for the absolute correctness of the pronunciations given immediately after each townland name. The names of lochs, hills, bays, points and islands are mostly Gaelic, and their proper vocalisation presents no possible difficulty.

THE BISCAYAN VERB

EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON, M.A.

(Continued from p. 62)

- Dabeenezquero**,¹ 191, 192 (3). I. q. *Dabee*, with *N* rel. temp. decl. mediative, ruled by *kero*=after. (*nezkero*=after-that, since-when.) *Since they have it.*
- Daquizun**, 5. I.q. *Dakizu*, *N* rel. s. acc. (*That*) which you know.
- Daquizun**, 151. Subj. pres. s. 3., dat. pl. 2nd p. aux. (p. 148 in *Zabála*.) *That he be to you.*
- Dacuseela**, 71. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., *la* participial, v. irr. act. *ikus*. *While they see it.*
- Dacusen**, 46. I.q. *Dakus*, with *e* euph. before *N* conj. ruled by *leguez*. (*As*) that one sees it.
- Dacuzu**, 5. Ind. pres. pl. 2nd p., singular in sense, acc. s., v. irr. act. *ikus*. In both editions misprinted *dacuszu*. *You see it.*
- Dacuts** (for *Dakus*), 78. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *ikus*. (Cf. p. 68, *icutsi*=*icusi*.) *Sees it.*
- Daguijala**, 66. Conjunctive pres. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act. I.q. *Dagijan*, but with *la* conj. *That he may have it.*
- Daguijan**, 6, 11, 165. Subj. pres. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *That he may have it.*
- al-Daguijanac**, 50. I.q. *Dagijan*, *N* rel. s. act., decl. act. (*nac*=he who). *He who may have it in his power.*
- al-ba-Daguijee**, 54, 55. Cf. *al-Daguijanac*. Subj. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. (*If*) they have it possible. *Ba* is *if* in Gothic also.
- Daguijeegun**, 75. Imp. pl. 1., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *Let us have it to them!*
- Daguijeela**, 24 (2), 62, 160, 175. Imp. and (175) Conj. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *Let them have it; that they have it.*
- al-Daguijeen**, 73. Subj. pres. pl. 3., acc. s. (*What*) they have possible.
- al-Daguijeena**, 201. I.q. *Daguijee*, *N* rel. s. acc., decl. acc. (*na*=that which). *That which they have possible.*
- Daguijezala**, 175. I.q. *Daguijezan*, with *la* conj. *That they may have them.*
- Daguijezan**, 51. Subj. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., aux. act., in the destinative sense as if ending in *tzát*. (*To-the-end*) that they may have them.
- Dagijon**, 162. *Gi* stands for *gui*, as in the modern orthography. Subj. pres. s. 3., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *That it may have it to her.*

¹ Accidentally omitted after *Daveenac* on p. 60.

- Daguijozan**, 99. Subj. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. s., aux. act. *That he may have them to him.*
- Daguijuen**, 51. Thus in line 8 of both editions. In line 9 it is *daquijuen* in the edition of Iruña. See *Dakijuen*.
- al-Daguijuezan**, 204. Subj. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl., with *A* euph. before *N* rel. pl. act., aux. act. (*Those*) *which they have it possible to them.* Apparently a misprint, if the other verbs in the sentence are right. Can it be for *Dagioezan* in Lardizábal? See *Dabenari* and *Deutseezanac*.
- al-Daguizan**, 6, 157. Subj. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *That it may have them ; (if=ya=ea) he may have them.*
- ez-Daguizuzan**, 124. Subj. pres. pl. 2., acc. pl., aux. act. *That you may (not) have them.* See page 102 of Zabála, and p. 6 of Ap. 2 of Lardizábal. It ought to be *daguizuezan*.
- Daguizuzan**, 151. Subj. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl. 2nd p., aux. act. *That it may have them to you.* Cf. p. 104 of Zabála, and p. 6 of the *Apéndice Segundo* of the *Gramática Vascongada* escrita por Don F. I. de Lardizábal. (San Sebastián, 1856.) It ought to be *daguizuezan*.
- Dago**, 14, 29, 51, 55, 56, 66, 79, 94, 103, 110, 116, 163, 171 (2), 175 (3), 176, 182, 187, 197. Ind. pres. s. 3., v. irr. neut. *egon*. *Stays, remains, is.*
- Dagoz**, 14, 29, 30, 40, 48, 66, 69 (3), 70 (2), 76, 120 (2), 135, 155 (2), 160 (with *ez-ba-*), 176. Ind. pres. pl. 3., v. irr. neut. *egon*. *They remain, stay, are.* On p. 14 *dogoz* is a misprint of the second edition only, and the next word is rightly *inocentiac* in the first.
- Dagozala**, 48, 58, 64, 65, 79, 183, 197. I.q. *Dagoz*, with *A* euph. before *la* participial (58), and conjunctive. As often happens, on pages 64 and 65 the two senses coalesce. *That they stay ; while they stay.*
- Dagotzan**, **Dagozan**, 7, 8, 36, 64, 107, 121, 135 (*dagotzan*). I.q. *Dagoz*, with *A* euph. before *N* rel. pl. nom. (7, 36, 121, 135) ; *N* rel. loc. (64, 107) ; *N* conj. (8). (*Those*) *which stay ; in which they stay ; (As) that they are.*
- Dagozana**, 106, 149. I.q. *Dagozan* conj., with *a=the* (*na=the-fact-that*). In sense it is *dagozala* conjunctive. *The-fact-that they are.*
- Dagozanac**, 42, 69, 201. I.q. *Dagozan* rel., decl. (42) pl. act., and (69, 201) intr. (*nac=those who*). *Those who stay.*
- Daguala**, 79, 80, 97, 108, 167 (where *baguala* stands for *ba-daguala*. In 1904 it became *daguala*). I.q. *Dago*, with *Ua* euph. before *la* conj. *That it stands, or is.*
- Dagualaco**, 10. I.q. *Daguala*, with *A* euph. and *laco* pretextive. *On-the-ground-that (there) remains.*
- Daguan**, 18, 21, 26, 34, 40, 65, 79, 89, 91, 113, 136, 182, 187. I.q. *Dago* with *Ua* euph. before *N* conj. (34, 89) ; *N* rel. nom. ; and *N* rel. loc. (21, 26, 79). *That it stays ; which stays ; in which it stays.*

- Daguana**, 55, 161. I.q. *Daguan* conj. with *a*=*the* (*na*=*the-fact-that*, translated like *la*). *The-fact-that it stands*.
- Daguanac**, 74, 182, 187. I.q. *Daguan*, *N* rel. nom., decl. act. (ruling, 74, *aituteco*) . . . (*nac*=*he who*). *He who stays*.
- Daguanian**, 29, 186. I.q. *Daguan*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When he stays*.
- Daiqueena**, 127. Potential pres. pl. 3., acc. s., *N* rel. s. acc., decl. s. acc., aux. act. (*na*=*that which*). *That which they can have*.
- Daiquien**, 199. Pot. pres. s. 3., acc. s., *N* rel. s. acc., aux. act. (*That*) *which he can have*. See Zabála, p. 121. It ought to be *Daiken*; but may be a dialectal corruption.
- Daigun**, 46, 61, 75, 87, 93 (2), 94, 95, 96 (1, 18), 97 (4), 98 (2), 102, 103, 132, 177. Imp. pl. 1., acc. s., aux. act. *Let us have it!* On p. 96, l. 1, it became *daiguzan* in my edition, because the accusatives there are plural. On p. 95 the accusatives are distributively singular.
- Daiguzan**, 95, 96 (*ter*, if the correction in the 2nd edition be counted), 97. Imp. pl. 1., acc. pl., aux. act. *Let us have them!*
- al-Daijan**, 46. Pot. pres. s. 3., aux. act.; I.q. *dai* with *A* euph. before *N* rel. temp., aux. *When he can have it*.
- Daijeegun**, **Daijegun**, 63, 176, 184. Imp. and (184) Subj. pres. pl. 1., acc. s., dat. pl. *Let us, or that we may, have it, to them*. On p. 63 the dative expressed, *bacochari*, is singular=*to each one*. But its sense is collective and plural.
- al-ba-Daiz**, 157. (Zabála, 119; Lardizábal, Ap. 2º, p. 10.) Pot. Conditional pl. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. (*If*) *he can possibly have them*.
- Daizuzan**, 163. Pot. pres. pl. 2., acc. pl., with *A* euph., before *N* conj., in the final sense as if ending in *tzát*. *So that you may have them*.
- Dala**, 9, 10 (2), 13 (2), 18, 24, 26 (2), 29 (2), 34, 35 (3), 39, 46, 55, 63, 66 (2), 80, 81, 84, 91, 96, 98 (2), 102 (2), 107, 108 (2), 115, 118 (2), 120, 122 (2), 126, 128, 133, 139, 140 (4), 153, 155, 157 (2), 158 (3), 160, 167, 170, 174 (3), 177, 181 (3), 193, 194 (2), 195, 196, 204 (5). I.q. *Da*, with *la* conj. and participial. *That it is; while it is*.
- Dalaco**, 31, 37, 38, 40, 46, 71, 100, 107, 124, 128 (4), 185, 196. I.q. *Dala* Conj., with the pretextive ending. *On-the-ground-that it is*.
- Dan**, 1, 9, 10, 14, 21, 22, 27, 31, 33 (3), 37 (3), 38, 40, 42, 43 (2), 44, 45 (2), 46 (3), 47 (2), 49, 54 (2), 55 (2), 56, 61 (2), 63, 66, 67 (2), 73, 84, 85 (2), 90, 91, 101, 103, 104, 107, 108 (2), 110, 114, 116, 119, 120 (2), 122, 123 (2), 124, 128, 129, 137, 139, 145, 146, 165, 166, 173, 177, 186 (2), 192, 193, 194, 207. I.q. *Da* with *N* conj.=*That it is*; and *N* rel.=*Which is*, or *in which it is*.
- Dana**, 5 (2), 30, 53, 59, 62, 84, 106, 109, 118, 126, 154, 156, 157, 169, 171, 186, 189, 191, 194, 198. I.q. *Dan*, *N* rel. decl. nom. pass. and acc. *That which is*. On pp. 59, 106, 156, 157, 169, 171, 189, *na* means

- the-fact-that*, and the sense is the same as that of *Dala* Conj. On p. 74 the original reading is *dana*. But, as the active case with *Dau*, I turned it into *danac* in the new edition.
- Danac**, 41, 46, 74, 127. I.q. *Dana* rel., but active. On p. 74 it is *dana* in the first edition. *He who is*.
- Danagaz**, 87. I.q. *Danaz*. *About that which is*. This termination *gaz* is used also as a copulative.
- Danaz**, 74. I.q. *Dana*, but mediative definite, ruled by *gainera* (*naz*=*about that which is*). *Of, or in-respect-of, that which is*.
- Daneco**, 48. I.q. *Dan*, *N* rel. temp.=*when*, with *E* euph. before the locative-possessive, adjectival case *Co*. *For, or at (the time) when it is*.
- Daneti**, 86, 178. I.q. *Dan*, *N* rel. temp., decl. separative. *From (the time) when one is*; 178, *N* rel. nom., decl. sep. *From that which is*.
- Danez**, 32, 46, 72, 124. I.q. *Dan*, *N* rel. nom., decl. mediative. *In respect of what is*.
- Danian**, 13, 120, 148 (bis). I.q. *Dan*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When it is*.
- Dantzubeela**, 71. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., *la* participial, eclipsing *n* final, v. irr. act. *entzun*. *While they hear it*.
- Darabilee**, 67, 118. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *erabil*. *They carry it about*.
- Darabileenac**, **Darabilleenac**, **Daravileenac**, 47, 170, 200, 204, 205. I.q. *Darabilee*, *N* rel. act. pl., decl. nom. pl. intr. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who carry it*.
- Darabilela**, **Daravilela**, 83, 139. I.q. *Darabilee*, with *la* conj.=*that*, and, p. 139, participial, its accusative being *buru zitala*; with *ain* and *cein* as correlatives balancing *onduan* against *guerrijan*.
- Darijola**, 59, 66. Ind. pres. s. 3., v. irr. intr. *iario*, with *la* participial. *While, or as it flows*.
- Darijona**, 65. I.q. *Darijo*, with *N* rel. separative, decl. nom. (*na*=*that from which*). *That from which it flows*.
- Darijuela**, 72. I.q. *Darijola*, but with the dative plural in its body. *While it flows to them*.
- Daroianac**, 65.¹ Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., *N* rel. act., decl. act. (*nac*=*those which*). Yet the accusative is plural to the extent of a thousand, if it is 'milla acinoe ta menio indecente.' *Those which are usual*.

¹ Perhaps this is a misprint for *oi dirianac*=*those which are usual*, as on p. 198, or for *daroiezanac*, or *daruezanac*. The phrase contains a mixture of singular and plural. See *juacozan*, *deutsazala*, *deutsanian*, *dirurijeela*, which occur therein. If it comes from *eruan*, cf. *dantzara eruan dabeelaco*, p. 71. Agustín Cardaberaz in his *Biscayan Catechism* of 1762, republished by me in 1906 at Bayonne, used *Daroenac* in the sense of 'those who bear it.' *Oi* recalls Latin *oitor*=*utor*.

- Daroiezan**, 52. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., *A* euph. before *N* rel. pl. act., v. irr. *eruan* (*nac*=those which). (*Those*) which they carry. This is perhaps the consuetudinary form of *Daruezan*, q.v.
- Darraicozan**, 56, 61, 118. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. s., *A* euph., *N* rel. nom. pl., v. irr. neuter, *iarrai*. (*Those*) which follow it.
- Darraico**, 33. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s., v. irr. intr. *iarrai*. Follows it.
- Darraicon**, 19. I.q. *Darraico*, *N* rel. nom. Which follows it.
- Darraicona**, 104. I.q. *Darraicon*, decl. acc. (*na*=that which). *That* which follows it.
- Darraicuezan**, 60, 76. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. pl., *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. nom., v. irr. neuter *iarrai*. (*Those*) which follow them.
- Daruezan**, 118. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. act., v. irr. tr. *eruan*. (*Those*) which carry them.
- Datorrelaco**, 139. Ind. pres. s. 3., *Re* euph., *la* conj.=that, with the adjectival *co* in the pretextive sense, v. irr. passive *etor*. *On-the-ground-that it comes*.
- Datozala**, 138. Ind. pres. pl. 3., *la* conj., v. irr. pass. *etor*. *That they come*.
- Dau**, 11, 14, 16, 17 (2), 18, 22 (2), 24, 26, 29, 30, 36, 38 (2), 41, 45, 60, 66, 72, 74, 78, 79, 84, 89, 91, 94, 102 (2), 108, 109, 113, 114, 120, 123, 152, 153, 157 (2), 158, 166, 170, 171, 174 (2), 182, 186 (2), 191. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., v. poss. and aux. act. *Has it*.
- Dauca**, 3, 9 (2 *ezDauca*), 13, 15 (2), 17, 25 (2), 50, 60, 84, 117, 123, 124, 138, 150, 175, 187, 193. Ind. pres. s. 3., r. s., v. irr. act. *eduki*. *Holds it*.
- Daucagu**, 156, 177, 186. Ind. pres. pl. 1., acc. s., v. irr. tr. *eduki*. *We hold it*.
- Daucala**, 103, 126. I.q. *Dauca*, with *la* conj. *That he holds it*.
- Daucalaco**, 20. I.q. *Daucala*, with the possessive adjectival *co* in the pretextive sense. *On-the-ground*, or, *for-the-reason-that*, *it holds it*.
- Daucan**, 27, 64, 76, 170. I.q. *Dauca*, with *N* conj. ruled by *leguez*; *N* rel. acc. (64), and (76), act., and (170) respective. *That it has it*; (*that*) which it has; which has it; as-to-which it has it. On p. 170 the accusative of *daucan* is *eguitia*, *icustia*, taken separately. The *n* final relates to 'the infamous amusements,' and contains the sense of *gaiti*, i.e. '(concerning) which.' On p. 64 the nominatives are distributive.
- Daucana**, 9, 87, 123. I.q. *Daucan*, *N* rel. act., decl. nom. or acc. (*na*=that which). *He*, or *him*, *who holds it*.
- Daucanac**, 46, 80, 89, 114. I.q. *Daucan*, *N* rel. act., or acc., decl. act. (*nac*=he who, he whom). *He who holds it*; *he whom he holds*.
- Daucanez**, 137, 155. It has the appearance of being a misprint either for *Daucanaz*=by that which has (the appearance), or for *Dauqueenez*=

by those things which have (the appearance). *Nez* can be *by those which.* *Echuria*, from Castilian *fechura*, *hechura*, *the appearance*, is the accusative singular. See the note on *Dinuanez*.

Daucat, 111, 163. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. s., v. irr. act. *eduki*. *I hold it.*

Daucaz, 189. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., v. irr. tr. *eduki*. *Holds them.*

Daucazala, 4, 104. I.q. *Daucaz*, *A* euph. before *la* conj., or (4) participial. *That it holds them.* On p. 4 it may be rendered 'holding them.'

Daucazan, 9, 97, 121. I.q. *Daucaz*, *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. acc. (*Those*) *which it holds.*

Dauquee, 15, 34, 36, 38, 42, 151, 182. Ind. pl. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *eduki*. *They hold it.*

Dauqueela, 27, 46, 101, 112, 154. I.q. *Dauquee*, *la* conj.=*that*; or (112, 154) participial=*while*. *That they have it; while they have it.*

Dauqueen, 36, 42, 50, 60, 65, 74, 132, 146, 156. I.q. *Dauquee*, with *N* rel. s. acc. (36, 42, 65); *N* rel. pl. act. (156); with *N* conj. ruled by *leguez* (50), by *baino* (74), or in a dependent clause (60, 132, 146). (*That*) *which they have*; (*those*) *who have it*; *that they have it.*

Dauqueena, 54, 195. I.q. *Dauqueen*, *N* conj.=*that*, decl. nom. s. intr. (*na*=*the-(fact)-that*, the sense equalling *la*). *The-fact-that they have it.*

Dauqueenac, 52, 56, 72 (2), 94, 119, 199, 201, 202 (3), 204, 205. I.q. *Dauqueen*, *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those which have it.* The same form might also serve as the active nominative of a transitive verb.

Dauqueez, 34, 61, 62, 140. I.q. *Dauquee*, but with the accusative pl. *They hold them.*

Dauqueezala, 183. I.q. *Dauqueez*, *A* euph. and *la* conj. *That they hold them.*

Dauqueezan, 183. I.q. *Dauqueez*, *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. acc. (*Those*) *which they hold.*

Dauqueezanac, 69 (2), 202. I.q. *Dauqueez*, *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who hold them.*

Dautsanac=**Dautseenac** (in 1904), 69. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. pl., *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. pl. nom., v. irr. pass *eutsi*=*'asir, tener ó estar agarrado'* (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who cling to them.*

Dautseela, 73. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. pl., *la* participial, v. irr. intr. *eutsi*. *While they cling to them.* See number 28 of the *Apéndice Segundo* of *Lardizábal*. The dative is *alcarri*. Cf. *Deutzeezala*.

eguiDazu, 150. Imp. s. (pl. in form), acc. s., dat. s. 1st p., aux. act. *Have you it to me!* The use of *egui*=*done*, *do*, as a sub-auxiliary in Biscayan is like that of *do* in English. With *esan* it means 'do tell it to me!'

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

An Old Highland Fencible Corps: The History of the Reay Fencible Highland Regiment of Foot, or Mackay's Highlanders, 1794-1802. With an Account of its Services in Ireland during the Rebellion of 1798. By Captain I. H. MACKAY SCOBIE, F.S.A. Scot., the Essex Regiment. One vol., 4to, xlii+413 pp. With three coloured plates of uniforms, thirty-eight illustrations in the text and two maps. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1914. £1, 1s. net.

Territorial Soldiering in the North-East of Scotland during 1759-1814. By JOHN MALCOLM BULLOCH, M.A. One vol. 4to, lxviii+517 pp. With three illustrations. Aberdeen: The New Spalding Club, 1914.

Beyond the too brief notices of some corps which appear in Major-General David Stewart of Garth's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, published in 1822, and Lady Tullibardine's account of Perthshire corps in her *Military History of Perthshire 1660-1902*, no attempt has been hitherto made to place on record the services rendered to the nation by the Fencible regiments raised in the eighteenth century. Sir John Sinclair's *Account of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles*, 'particularly addressed to the officers, non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the first battalion that they may remember they have belonged to so respectable a corps,' with its full-length figure of the uniform, while one of the prizes of the military collector, contains the baldest outline of services. The value and importance of Captain Mackay Scobie's monograph therefore is great. It gives for the first time in full detail the history and services of one of the most distinguished battalions raised under the Fencible system. It fills a gap existing up to this time in regimental history. The author has taken a wide view of his duties, and in addition to detailing the history of the corps in which he is specially interested he has many sound observations on the system, and his work contains the most complete list of Fencible regiments which has yet appeared.

These lines were written before Mr. Bulloch's work was issued. That gentleman's devotion to Gordon soldiers and Gordon genealogy is well known. An untrodden field for his energies lay open to him in the history of the Territorials in the North-East of Scotland, 1759-1814. His subject brings under his cognisance the five Fencible regiments of that part of the kingdom. By the aid of original papers in Gordon Castle charter-room, Mr. Bulloch is able to give a large amount of original detail, and his book is a permanent and valuable addition to our knowledge of Fencible corps.

Captain Mackay Scobie's lists show that between 1759 and 1798, forty-

five Fencible infantry regiments were raised in Scotland, seventy per cent. of them in the Highlands. His lists for England and Ireland show a total of twenty-five corps, including two Manx battalions raised respectively in 1793 and 1798, by John, fourth Duke of Atholl, and his brother, Lord Henry Murray. There were no militia cavalry in England, she provided instead nineteen regiments of Fencible cavalry, while twelve were raised in Scotland. The latter kingdom then was pre-eminently the home of Fencible corps.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century England was provided with a statutory militia. The reason why the territorial forces in Scotland were not so organised is to be found in the fact that it was a tradition with English statesmen to regard with alarm and jealousy the maintenance of a military force in Scotland. Such foundation as existed for the feeling is to be traced back to Restoration times.

In 1663 the Scottish Parliament voted a militia of two thousand horse and twenty thousand foot to be ready when called on by the king, to march to any part of his Majesty's dominions of Scotland, England, or Ireland for suppressing of any foreign invasion, intestine trouble or insurrection, or for any other service wherein His Majesty's honour, authority or greatness may be concerned (*Acts of Parl.*, vii. 480). The commissions were not issued, nor was the force called into being until 1668, but from that year onwards until 1684 the provisions of the Act were in active operation. Lauderdale, whose plan it was, saw to it that the regulations were strictly enforced. The horse were inspected four times and the foot once a year, the Scottish Treasury issuing an annual grant of ten days' pay for the purpose. The maintenance of so large a force in efficiency excited the resentment of England, where the standing army in the time of Charles II. was small in numbers, and the militia, with few exceptions, remained unembodied. Lauderdale was accused in the English Parliament of retaining the Scots militia for no other end than to overawe England (*Hansard*, iv. 625), and English members of Parliament avowed that it was impossible to discuss public affairs in that kingdom 'without converting our thoughts to Scotland' (*Hansard*, iv. 626). In 1674 the House of Commons, enraged at what they regarded as a perpetual menace, presented an unanimous address to the king praying that Lauderdale be dismissed from his employments and from the royal presence and councils. The attack was repeated in 1675. The definition of the use to which the Scots militia, authorised by the Act of 1663, might be put in any of the three kingdoms, was referred to. 'By colour of these general words,' says the address unanimously voted by the Commons to the king in 1675, 'we conceive this realm may be liable to be invaded under any pretence whatsoever' (*Hansard*, iv. 684). The attacks on Lauderdale were renewed in 1679, and only ceased on his retiral from public life.

Five-and-twenty years later, in 1704, the Act of Security passed by the Scottish Parliament provided that the Fencible men of the country should

be armed and called out once a month for training. By recalling her regular regiments then serving abroad, Scotland with such a backing might fairly hope to cope with the forces of her southern neighbour. The proposal remained green in the minds of English public men, and half a century afterwards, in the discussion in the House of Commons on the English Militia Bill, the event was referred to in these terms:—

In 1704 the Scots passed the famous act called the *Act of Security*, for disciplining their militia and providing them with arms, for they wisely foresaw that if such a case should happen [a conflict between the two nations] it would be impossible for them to furnish the expence of keeping up such a numerous standing army of mercenary troops as would be sufficient for defending them against the armies of this kingdom. But, thank God, the existence of the case was prevented by the union of the two kingdoms, which was soon after concluded, and which has happily left the inhabitants of this extensive island nothing else to think of but how to defend themselves against the neighbouring powers upon the continent of Europe. (*Scots Mag.* 1756, p. 426.)

The union referred to was effected in 1707, and exact even to garrulousness on many points, there is not to be found either in the articles of union which preceded it or in the treaty itself a word which has any relation to the military forces of Scotland. From the moment of union they ceased as such to exist. Thenceforth they were under English control. To achieve that result was the dominating object of English statesmen. Within a few years all the Scottish infantry regiments which had served abroad were with four exceptions disbanded never to be reorganised as so many English corps were.

Then came the civil wars of 1715 and 1745. It was in the years following the latter event and in the annual discussions in the House of Commons on the proposal to limit the numbers of men and the period of service in the army that the haunting fear of the Scottish military power most clearly showed itself. It was urged that if the period of service in the British army were limited to a short term of years the disaffected families and the chiefs in the Highlands would pass their vassals and clansmen through the ranks, and so provide themselves with disciplined soldiers to be employed in overturning the Government when an opportunity should occur. Lord George Sackville expressed the prevailing view. Referring to the advance of the Highland army into England in 1745, he observed:—

It is well known that the disaffected chiefs in the Highlands of Scotland made use of the independent companies kept up in that country for this very purpose [undergoing military training], and since the breaking of these companies they have made use of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service for the same purpose. It was this that made the late rebellion so formidable, and at first so successful; that army of rebels was not made up of shepherds or fellows just taken from the plow, as it was represented through ignorance or design by the friends to the government here. It was chiefly composed of disciplined soldiers, and commanded by noblemen and gentlemen of rank and courage, though I believe of no great fortune; and if this bill should pass into law we may soon expect to hear of such another army's appearance in favour of the Pretender. (*Hansard*, xiv. 743, 16th February 1750.)

In a debate on the number of soldiers to be retained on the establishment of the army, the Minister of War, referring to the '45, used these words:—

The rebels, we know, had given the slip to General Wade, and they might have done the same to our army at Finchley; but if they had not, that handful of ragamuffins, as they were called by many who seemed to be more ready to call names than to give blows, might have had a good chance for victory against our party-coloured army at Finchley of which an ingenious painter has given us so lively, and, I am afraid, so true a representation.¹ (*Scots Mag.*, 1754, p. 170.)

Side by side with these estimates of men, who knew what they were talking about, may be placed the opinion of an Ayrshire pamphleteer:—

I will venture to affirm that from the 21st of September, when the rebels beat the troops under General Cope at Prestonpans, to the 17th of January, when they defeated Hawley at Falkirk, there was time enough to have armed and trained as many men of the shire of Ayr alone, from whence not a single man joined the pretender, as would have driven the rebels to their mountains for shelter. (*Scots Mag.*, 1760, p. 56.)

The Seven Years' war, which opened in 1756, drew public attention to the condition of the national defences, and an Act for the re-organisation of the English militia was passed on 28th June 1757, the quota being fixed at 32,040 men. The proposal at the same time to raise a proportional quota for Scotland was delayed at the request of the supporters of the English scheme, on the plea that the passage of their bill would be thereby endangered. As soon as the bill became an Act, public men in Scotland moved for the passing of a similar measure for that kingdom. The proposal was thrown out by 194 to 94, on the plea that a modification of the English law was still in contemplation, and that it would be improper to extend the law to Scotland until that of England was made more perfect. The real objections to the measure were expressed in language like this:—

Shall that fierce and warlike people, proud of the valour of their ancestors, be trusted with arms? To give a militia to Scotland was to arm Scotland against England. The turbulent disposition of the Scots, their propensity on every occasion to revolt, makes it necessary to keep them disarmed, and in that respect to treat them like the inhabitants of a conquered province, not the fellow-subjects of a united kingdom. (*Scots Mag.*, 1760, p. 168.)

Meantime Scotland was left defenceless, and her coasts lay open to the enemy. Captain Thurot in the *Marshal Belleisle* hovered around, and sailed up the Clyde with impunity. The contrast between the two kingdoms, the one prepared for defence, the other abandoned to the chance of war, excited a comment as bitter as it was fruitless. The American War, 1774-82, came on, and the United States privateers found on the mainland and islands of Scotland places where they could rapidly provision and refit. The exploits of Paul Jones added to the ferment, and in March 1776 a fresh attempt was made to establish a militia, Lord Mountstuart being in charge of the

¹ A reference to Hogarth's 'The March to Finchley.'

measure. As an example of the weakness of the Scottish defences, he told the House how in 1775 a smuggling cutter with a few guns and twenty men had come into the Firth of Forth and landed her cargo in the middle of the day. The excise officers applied for a sergeant and twelve men, but none were to be had, except such as were at so great a distance that the smugglers had time to dispose of their cargo, and to retire unmolested before the detachment arrived. An English member retorted that he lived near the sea, and had always observed that the militia were the greatest smugglers in the whole country (*Hansard*, xviii. 1235). Mr. Burke lent the weight of his eloquence against the bill. The number of men proposed to be embodied was, he said, as one to five, whereas Scotland did not pay above one-fortieth of the land-tax, from which source the money for the pay and clothing of the militia was to be drawn, and he could not possibly conceive how Scotsmen could come to Parliament and expect that at least five-sixths of the expense should be paid by English landowners. He was reminded by Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran that the greatest part of the landed income of Scotland was spent in England. Sir Adam continued, 'Look at the labouring man's hat, it is English. Look at his coat, it is English. His shoes, stockings, and buckles are all English. Look again at the wives and daughters of every rank from the duke to the peasant, and the gowns, ribbons, etc., are all English' (*Hansard*, xviii. 1230). What was true in 1776 is true in 1915. Were intercourse between the two nations interrupted for six months the population of Scotland would be in rags. Mr. Grenville maintained that the promoters of the bill must prove that the present situation of the kingdom required an extraordinary force of six thousand men, that the method proposed for raising them was the cheapest, and that Scotland was the place where from local circumstances these troops should be raised. Mr. Grenville, of course, proposed to negative each proposition. Lord North opposed Mr. Grenville's views, and expressed the opinion that the proposed national establishment would be an additional security to the United Kingdom. Mr. Townshend was opposed to the scheme.

He spoke of the Highland Independent companies, and observed what little service they were of. For at one time when General Wade reviewed them, they were found to be deficient at least one-half. He reprimanded Lord Lovat, and complained to his Lordship by message how very incomplete his corps in particular happened to be. To which Lord Lovat replied, 'That signifies very little. I can have 1200 men turn out upon any service whenever I please.' (*Hansard*, xviii. 1234.)

The bill was lost by 112 to 93.

In 1782 a third attempt was made, the young Marquess of Graham leading. He suggested that the Jacobite bogey might now be laid. When he urged the defenceless state of the kingdom, an English member pointed out to him that the people of Scotland were bred to arms, and it would be better for them if they turned their swords into ploughshares. The Secretary at War declared that he had been always against a militia in Scotland, and the reason that induced him formerly to oppose the establishment of

such a force still existed. Later he moved that the Committee be instructed to insert a clause in the bill enabling the men to enlist in the regular forces. He had many objections to the bill itself, and thought it would be injurious to the industries of the people. The Fencibles he considered as sufficient to defend the country. It might be argued that the same objection lay against the English militia; but in answer to that it must be considered that the English militia were already embodied and disciplined, and formed part of the military strength of the country. The Marquess of Graham objected to the clause. Its object was simply to make the Scots militia a feeder for the English army. The clause would destroy every purpose sought for by the bill. What Scotland demanded was a constitutional militia for her defence against invasion, and he declined to proceed with the bill on the terms proposed (*Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 15th June 1782).

The minister's real reason for opposing the bill was disclosed in the ludicrous proposal of the Government, made shortly afterwards, to place arms at the disposal of the various burghs of Scotland, who should organise companies in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, the commissions in the force to be in the patronage of the provosts, the men to be called out if and when wanted, and to receive pay while on duty. By this hopeful scheme, ministers imagined Jacobitism would be effectually checkmated. No one in Scotland thought it worth while to pay any attention to the proposal.

In 1793, at the commencement of the war with France, Mr. Secretary Dundas introduced a bill for the better ordering of the Militia in Scotland. It was considered preferable to raise Fencible regiments and the measure was set aside. Finally, on the 19th of July when the country was face to face with dangers greater than any which had menaced her in the previous struggles with France, the Act 37 George III. cap. 103 was passed, by which after an interval of a century and a quarter a Scots militia was re-established (*Mil. Hist. of Perthshire*, p. 125).

The consideration meted out to the regular Highland regiments during the period under review may be inferred from what goes before. So early as 1738, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, then Lord President of the Court of Session, urged the propriety of augmenting the British army by regiments to be raised in the Highlands. The story is told in the concluding paragraphs of the first chapter of Home's *History of the Rebellion*.

He [the Lord President] was a whig upon principle; that is, he thought the government established at the Revolution was the best form of government for the inhabitants of Britain. In the end of autumn in the year 1738 he came to Lord Milton's house at Brunstane one morning before breakfast. Lord Milton was surprised to see him at so early an hour, and asked what was the matter. A matter, replied the president, which I hope you will think of some importance. You know very well that I am, like you, a whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government, now I think the time is come to bring forward a scheme which in my opinion will certainly have that effect.

A war with Spain seems near at hand, which it is probable will soon be followed by a war with France, and there will be occasion for more troops than the present standing army. In that event I propose that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scots officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment, and naming the lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains and subalterns from this list in my hand, which comprehends all the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who are the very persons whom France and Spain will call upon, in case of a war, to take arms for the Pretender. If government pre-engages the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home, and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands. I have come here to show you this plan, and to entreat if you approve of it, that you will recommend it to your friend, Lord Ilay, who, I am told, is to be here to-day or to-morrow on his way to London. I will most certainly, said Lord Milton, show the plan to Lord Ilay, but I need not recommend it to him, for, if I am not much mistaken, it will recommend itself.

Next day the Earl of Ilay came to Brunstane, Lord Milton showed him the president's plan, with which he was extremely pleased, and carrying it to London with him presented it to Sir Robert Walpole who read the preamble and said at once that it was the most sensible plan he had ever seen, and was surprised that nobody had thought of it before. He then ordered a cabinet council to be summoned and laid the plan before them, expressing his approbation of it in the strongest terms, and recommending it as a measure which ought to be carried into execution immediately in case of a war with Spain. Notwithstanding the minister's recommendation every member of the council declared himself against the measure, assuring Sir Robert Walpole that for his sake they could not possibly agree to it. That if government should adopt the plan of the Scots judge, the patriots (for so the opposition was called) would exclaim that Sir Robert Walpole, who always designed to subvert the British Constitution, was raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army and enslave the people of England. The plan was set aside and next year Britain declared war against Spain.

With great misgiving the Independent Companies, originally formed in 1667 under the command of John, Earl of Atholl, were formed into a regiment known to history as the Black Watch. It was promptly removed from Scotland and with the exceptions of a few months in 1775-6, remained absent for a period of forty-six years. Loudon's Highlanders, raised in 1745, were transferred to Germany in 1747, and disbanded at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Then a statesman arose in England who said:—

I have no local attachments. It is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth and drew it into your service, an hardy and intrepid race of men! men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before the last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity as they fought with valour and conquered for you in every part of the world; detested by the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. (*Hansard*, xvi. 98.)

While Pitt was in office ten Highland regiments were raised. Two of

them, Keith's and the Gordon Highlanders, come under Mr. Bulloch's purview, and he notes a communication from Colonel Murray Keith, commanding the former corps, in which he acknowledges the assistance given him by Mr. Pitt (*Territorial Soldiering*, p. 24). That statesman, unfortunately for his country, resigned office in 1761, and at the peace of 1763 all the Highland regiments raised under his régime were disbanded. On the outbreak of the American war in 1774, Lieut.-Colonel James Murray of Strowan, second son of the Lord George Murray of the '45, offered to raise a regiment of 1000 men to serve in America. His offer was refused (*Mil. Hist. of Perthshire*, p. 70). The exigencies of the war compelled the English to alter their tone, and thirteen Highland battalions were raised and entered into active service. Following traditional practice, all were disbanded at the general peace except the 73rd, late 71st, now 1st H. L. I., the 78th, late 72nd, now 1st Seaforths, and the 73rd, originally raised as a second battalion of the Black Watch, a position it again occupies. All three battalions owed their escape solely to the fact that at the date of the European peace and for many years subsequently they were employed in India in extending the dominions of the East India Company.

It came to pass that if Scotland were not to be left entirely defenceless, her shores a rendezvous for the spoiler, and her historic fortresses the abode of the owl and the bat, some form of defensive force had to be provided. So the Fencible Regiments came into existence. I have elsewhere explained their constitution (*Mil. Hist. of Perthshire*, p. 146). It is sufficient to say here that their services at first extended to Scotland only, except in case of an invasion of England, and they were to be disbanded in Scotland. In 1794 they were invited to extend their services to Ireland, and from that year onwards none were raised but such as agreed to serve in the three kingdoms and the isles adjacent.

Captain Mackay Scobie is a descendant of Major John Scobie, tacksman of Melness, who served in the Reays from their formation in 1794 until their disbandment at Stirling in September 1802, during which period he was repeatedly in command. The Major's regimental order books have been preserved in the family, and form the backbone of the volume. They give with few gaps the daily life of the regiment from start to finish, and so the author is able to present a narrative of singular continuity and accuracy. It is a regimental idyll, in every respect the antithesis of the ordinary official narrative. From beginning to end there is not a dull page in the book. The ample notes on almost every page are of unique interest. They are a perfect mine of information to both soldier and civilian, and bear testimony to the wideness of the author's research, his critical faculty, and his enthusiasm for his subject. The regiment was raised in the 'Reay country,' clan Mackay's land, lying on the north and west coasts of Sutherland, a district about eighty miles in length by eighteen in breadth and comprehending the modern parishes of Farr, Tongue, Durness and Eddrachilis. Some of Captain Mackay Scobie's most attractive pages are those which give an account of the country, the character and pursuits of its

inhabitants; a fine martial race of men they were, as their annals show. The regiment was embodied by royal warrant of 24th October 1794, and consisted of a grenadier, light and eight battalions companies, four sergeants, five corporals, two drums and ninety-five private men in each company, with two fifes to the grenadiers. No difficulty was experienced in recruiting. One woman brought her seven sons to join, the smallest being over six feet in height. The sight aroused the admiration and curiosity of Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse, who said to the mother, 'On what did you rear the lads?' 'On butter and cheese, the flesh of the deer, salmon, and the hard oatcakes of the quern.' The uniform was the full Highland garb, the accoutrements following the lines of the infantry of the period modified to suit the Highland dress. Captain Mackay Scobie has for some years made a study of Highland military dress, and his treatment of the subject, though it has of course special reference to the uniform of the Reays, contained in pp. 43-49 of his book and the notes appended to these pages, is full of valuable directions to the military artist who feels himself in need of instruction. In 1794 the pipers were a purely regimental institution and wore the same uniform as the rank and file. It was not until 1854 that the value of the pipes as a regimental asset, though maintained from the first in each Highland regiment from the date of its formation, dawned upon the British War Office. Since then they have been under official cognisance, and the tailor has been called in. There are sketches in existence supposed to represent scenes in the Peninsular War, where the piper is represented in all his modern glory instead of in the jacket and sporran of the private. The regiment was embodied at Elgin on 17th June 1795, and included 46 officers 32 sergeants, 30 corporals, 22 drums and fifes, and 671 sentinels, total 801. It was inspected on the 18th by Sir Hector Munro of Novar, who expressed himself as highly satisfied with the fine appearance and quality of the regiment, and passed it as an effective corps. In July 1795 it marched to Fort George, and in September to Perth. On 29th October it embarked for Ireland, and was quartered at Belfast. It was actively employed in assisting to preserve the peace of the country, and Captain Mackay Scobie is able to give from the regimental order books a minute account of its doings in Ireland during that troubled time. It maintained throughout its high character as an efficient corps. Three companies under the command of Captain MacLean were present at the battle of Tara Hill, fought on 26th May 1798, where they behaved with great courage, sustaining a loss of eight men killed and one officer, four sergeants, and twenty-two rank and file wounded, two of the latter dying of their wounds. On 22nd August 1798, General Humbert with 1200 French soldiers invaded Ireland, and at Castlebar in Mayo defeated a composite body of troops, commanded by General Lake, who exclaimed, 'If I had my brave and honest Reays here this would not have happened.' After a campaign of eleven days, mostly spent in arduous marching, General Humbert surrendered to General Lake at Ballinamuck on 8th September. 'The bravery and dash displayed by the little band of French, that had been launched in air without money, necessities, or any resources but

what chance and talent gave, and its accomplishments in an enemy's country, where about forty times its number of troops was in the field, proved that the French commander was a soldier of no ordinary ability' (p. 225). The casualties of the Reays were three non-commissioned officers, one drummer, and fifteen private men killed in action, and two officers, eight sergeants, and sixty-two rank and file wounded. The behaviour of the regiment attracted the particular notice of the generals commanding. About a month afterwards General Lake, learning of the death of Lieut.-Colonel Mackay of Bighouse, commanding the regiment, solicited and obtained the vacant commission for Major Andrew Ross, who had joined from a Highland regiment of the line, and at the same time Captain John Scobie, who had been as senior captain frequently in command of the corps, obtained his majority. The regiment remained in Ireland until the Peace of Amiens, 1802, winning golden opinions from all with whom it came in contact. It was a great favourite with the warm-hearted Irish peasantry. Captain Mackay Scobie gives many examples, for which we must refer the reader to his delightful pages, which teem with humour, and anecdote. The officers it seems were no match for the Irish horse-copers. In addition to raising subscriptions among themselves for the poor of the country in which they were stationed and for the widows and children of British soldiers who had died abroad in the service of their country, the men of the regiment periodically remitted large sums of money to their relatives in Scotland, and as there were neither savings banks nor postal orders in those days, the men usually remitted the amount through the officer from whose farm or neighbourhood they had come (p. 250). St. Andrew's Day and New Year's Day were duly observed in the regiment. Captain Mackay Scobie does not appear to have unearthed any reference to a regimental mascot, although he notes that the 2nd Sutherland Fencibles, raised in 1779, had a red deer of great size as many of the other Highland regiments had. In August 1802 it received orders to return to Scotland, and it was disbanded at Stirling on 26th September 1802 after receiving a public acknowledgment from Major-General Baillie of Rosehall for its conduct and services. The men in a body left for home. On reaching their own country they were received with affection and pride, not only by parents and relatives, but by the community at large. Celebrations lasting several days were held in different parishes to honour their return. Bonfires blazed on the hills and the countryside held festival. 'Long after peace had been restored to the country, the exploits and valiant deeds performed by "Mackay's Highlanders," and the high name they had acquired during their service in Ireland, were remembered with pride by their descendants in Strathnaver, and to this day the name of Reisimeid Mhic Aoidh is a familiar and honoured one in the scattered townships and remote sheilings of that rugged and far northern district' (p. 349).

Captain Mackay Scobie's volume is in every respect attractive. There are forty-one illustrations, including three coloured plates of uniforms from drawings by the author, several regimental relics, and reproductions of rare plates. Two maps show the Reay country and those parts of Ireland which

were the scene of the active services of the Regiment. There is an excellent Index.

In the one hundred pages of Mr. Bulloch's work devoted to fencible regiments he notices five.

The Northern Fencibles, 1778-1783, raised by Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon. Mr. Bulloch notes some curious applications for commissions. Cameron of Fassifern suggested Locheil's son, 'a fine stout boy of 10,' Fassifern offering to undertake duty for three or four years, until the boy was ready to take post (p. 78). From the correspondence in the Gordon Castle muniments, quoted by Mr. Bulloch, it appears that considerable difficulty was experienced in raising the number of men required. They came chiefly from Inverness, Banff, and Aberdeen, and 'the lads behaved well, and were tractable and obedient.' It did not leave Scotland, being stationed in towns in the south of the kingdom. The details of its five years of existence are not exciting. It was disbanded at Aberdeen and Fort George, April-May 1783, the men having maintained a high character for good conduct and behaviour during the period of their embodiment.

The Aberdeenshire or Princess of Wales's Fencibles, 1794-1803, raised by Major James Leith, who afterwards had a distinguished record in the Peninsula, brother of Alexander Leith Hay, of Leith Hall and Rannes, raised chiefly in Aberdeenshire, was placed on the establishment on 23rd July 1795. It proceeded to Ireland, and on 24th September following was placed on the Irish establishment, and in that kingdom its entire career was passed. Colonel Leith retained command and kept his regiment in the highest state of discipline, its appearance upon every occasion evincing the professional knowledge of the commanding officer. It was disbanded at Naas, April 8-11, 1803.

The Northern Fencibles, 1793-1799, raised by Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon, by warrant of 1st March 1793. Within six weeks the numbers desired by his Grace were forthcoming. One of the most interesting facts, says Mr. Bulloch, about this Regiment of Northern Fencibles is, that it was for its benefit that the Gordon tartan seems to have been designed. The Duke fixed on a pattern, 'that's to say, the same with the 42nd Regiment, with the alteration of the yellow stripe properly placed; the quality of the plaid the same in every other respect.' In August 1793 the Northern Fencibles marched from Aberdeen by Perth, and were stationed in Edinburgh Castle till March 1794. Unfortunately the Duke placed his brother-in-law, Lieut.-Colonel John Woodford, an Englishman, in command of the regiment. The results were unedifying. Mr. Bulloch notes a few of them and gives references to more. After an incipient mutiny, appeased by the Duke, whom Lieut.-Colonel Woodford had to call in, the regiment embarked for Portsmouth. While stationed in Kent, it was ordered to London. George III. had never seen a Highland regiment, and he reviewed the Northern Fencibles with interest, the royal attention being specially directed to the sergeant-major, Dugal Campbell, who was 'a most superb specimen of the human race,' and who afterwards obtained a commission in the 92nd.

The regiment returned to Scotland in 1796, public attention being frequently directed to the disputes between the Lieut.-Colonel and his officers. It was disbanded at Ayr, 2nd April 1799.

The Strathspey Fencibles, 1793-1799, raised by Sir James Grant, was inspected and embodied by Lieut.-General Leslie at Forres on the 5th of June 1793. The Lieut.-Colonel, Alexander Penrose Cumming of Altyre, proved, according to Mr. Bulloch, no greater success in his charge than Woodford did with the Northern Fencibles. There appears to have been a continual spirit of discontent in the corps, culminating in the execution of two private men of the regiment at Gullane Links, in East Lothian, on 16th July 1795. The services of the regiment were confined to Scotland. It was stationed in turn at Paisley, Linlithgow, Dumfries, Musselburgh, Dundee, Ayr, Edinburgh, Irvine, and disbanded at Edinburgh in April 1799. Vast lockers full of accoutrements of this regiment are still preserved at Castle Grant.

The Banffshire (Duke of York's Own) Fencibles were raised in 1798 by Andrew Hay of Montblair. By its letter of service the regiment was to serve in any part of Europe but not beyond. It was inspected at Barnstaple by Major-General Whitelocke, 29th March 1799, and sent on to Jersey, returning to England 9th December, when it was stationed at Portsmouth. On 1st May 1800 it embarked for Gibraltar, where it spent the rest of its career, being disbanded at Gosport in May 1802.

Four-fifths of Mr. Bulloch's book, and, from the military point of view, the most interesting parts of it, do not come within the scope of the present article, which cannot close, however, without a line of praise for his careful and exhaustive bibliography and iconography of the Gordon Highlanders and the local corps which, from time to time, have been bracketed with them.

The spirit of distrust which tied Scotland down in the eighteenth century to the provision of Fencible regiments has disappeared. To Scotland's loss its tradition remains unbroken. It is still the policy of the War Office to strip and keep Scotland bare of troops. She cannot, it seems, either educate or train soldiers, and only six or seven counties in the kingdom have ever seen a regular regiment. Of the sacrifice, the parting, the pain of war, she bears her share, of its glamour and pomp, she sees nothing. She provides the blood, but in the material advantages to be derived from the presence and training of bodies of troops she does not share. What is true of the Infantry, not to mention the Artillery, is true even to a greater degree of the Cavalry. In her campaigns before the Union, Scotland had no difficulty in raising and equipping a cavalry, brave, numerous, and efficient. When the chance offers she is still eager to show what she can produce in that arm. The Tullibardine Horse and the Lovat Scouts may stand for the Highlands. In the Lowlands, Galloway alone could raise a cavalry brigade and still leave a hunter for the yeoman and a palfrey for his bride. All her cavalry regiments have disappeared but one, the splendour of whose achievements might be sufficient to proclaim to the dullest intellect that the traditions so religiously cherished are inimical alike to the service of the king and the instincts of his people.

ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald.

The Union Flag: Its History and Design. By JOHN A. STEWART. With several Illustrations. Many coloured. 8vo, 27 pp. Glasgow: The St. Andrew Society.

In this little work, as interesting as it is useful, Mr. Stewart narrates concisely the history of the present Union Flag which, for practical purposes, commenced in 1707. By the Treaty of Union of that year the Queen was empowered to conjoin the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in such manner as she should think fit, and her Majesty made an order in council accordingly. The sketches referred to in that order have gone astray. At the union of the three kingdoms in 1801 an order was issued by King George III. specifying what the Union Flag in future was to be. Its blazon, quoted by Mr. Stewart at p. 16, is clumsy but unmistakable. While St. George was to have the place of honour by surmounting St. Andrew and St. Patrick, no distinction was made in their respective breadths. Every Union flag therefore which displays the St. George as broader than St. Andrew and St. Patrick is inaccurate. In heraldry the written word is the law, not a draughtsman's or seamstress's interpretation of it. For example, the Admiralty 'pattern' is an outrage on the blazon. Formulas for the breadth of the crosses are to be received with caution. Artists should be consulted, although not all officials are artists. Mr. Stewart contrives to give within the limits he has assigned to himself a great body of information and advice regarding the Flag.

ANDREW ROSS, *Ross Herald.*

The Scottish War of Independence: A Critical Study. By EVAN MACLEOD BARRON. London: James Nisbet and Co., 22 Berners Street, W. 16s. net. Pp. xxvi+499.

Mr. Barron has produced what is easily the most thorough as it is the most challenging account of the Scottish War of Independence which has yet appeared. Even in the standard histories there is evidence of much fumbling with material, and no little misunderstanding owing to the adoption of a distorting point of view; and that point of view one of a century and a half later, giving the impression that what might be called the Celtic portions of the country were fundamentally in opposition to the national cause. Mr. Barron can claim to have exposed this illusion by his close and critical handling of the material, and if any complaint is to be made, it is that perhaps his enthusiasm and very natural repulsion to Lowland complacency have carried him to a rather wider conclusion than his facts justify. This is no very serious fault. It would have been simply impossible to secure attention to his claim without pitching it at the very highest, and there is no denying that Mr. Barron has a great deal to say in a very effective fashion for his main contention. At the same time the map gives pause. If Caithness is to be marked as 'Teutonic,' are the Western Isles and Argyll to remain 'Celtic' after a Norse domination of four centuries? Wallace's victory was only thirty-one years after the Battle of Largs.

Every page of the book gives evidence of the careful and independent analysis of what our record shows regarding this most important period. For all the evident labour, however, which has been involved Mr. Barron carries his knowledge lightly, and his narrative is written in a brisk, lucid fashion. The occasional bouts of controversy with one historian or another also tend to keep things lively, and against facile fault-finding with the actions of Robert Bruce, and a narrow, moralistic handling of these, he has much to say that is effective, in addition to actual correction of error.

Apart from this fresh and first-hand survey of the evidence, the book has its importance in the fact that it helps on a shifting of the normal attitude of historians in the treatment of early Scottish history. This has been referred to above, but it is just as well to insist that the sharp antithesis between Lowland and Highland, the referring of everything characteristic in our national history to the former quarter, and the bias against the latter as against an inferior race, though, of course, not invariably put so sharply—this sub-conscious distortion of things needs all the protest which can be made against it. It appears in other directions, and is to be condemned, in the first place, because it actually leads to distorted views of our history. It is a long story to trace how this category developed, until it receives expression in such a phrase as Mr. Barron quotes from Mr. Lang on p. 292: 'The War of Independence was won by the Lowland Scots.' If Mr. Barron can be accused of pressing his case too far on the one side, this is certainly as excessive as could be on the other, but it is a specimen of much to be found in the pages of our orthodox historians. On the heels of Hill Burton's violent anti-Celtic prejudice came the equally violent Germanic bias of men like Freeman. This is the spirit that has been working in history for too long, and within the present field Mr. Barron's book is its effectual dissipation. There can be no excuse now for misunderstanding of the sequence of events in the War of Independence. Mr. Barron has done a notable and serviceable work for all interested in Scottish history.

The volume is a substantial one, well bound and printed, and has a map of 'Scotland about 1300,' and two plans of the Battle of Bannockburn.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

NOTES

Highlanders and the War

It was a bleak afternoon in January and the north wind blew hard and keen through the streets of Inverness. I was hastening to catch the afternoon mail train for the south and found the station densely crowded. A number of Cameron Highlanders of the Territorial force were returning to Bedford after a brief furlough at home, prior to their departure to the front, and friends and relatives were bidding them farewell. The kilted lads, with bronzed and eager faces, were infectiously cheerful and animated. Those who were natives of the town were surrounded by groups of deep-

eyed women and girls, delighted boys who were keenly appreciative of an afternoon's freedom from school, and elderly men with stern, pale faces. Here and there young mothers with babies in their arms grudged the passing minutes as they conversed softly and earnestly with husbands who were being called away to face fearsome perils in a strange and distant land, their lips now tremulous with smiles, and now pouting with a new melancholy which had stolen into their lives. They were brave too, being true Highland women.

I entered a compartment in which there were five Territorials, and a few seconds later the slamming of doors, which sounded like distant artillery fire, announced that the time of starting was at hand. We moved away amidst a storm of cheers and repeated farewells and the dwindling sound of the bagpipes. Then a sudden silence fell upon us all. The lads who had been leaning from the windows, shouting merrily and waving their hands, sat down and stared meditatively at the familiar landscape they were rapidly passing through. They were less cheerful than they had pretended to be.

'Who was that girl you introduced me to?' one asked suddenly of a tall, fair Highlander sitting opposite him.

'My youngest sister,' was the quiet answer.

'A bonnie lassie she is too.'

'The best in our family. She's not one that ever says much. No; she's so quiet, so shy, but she's as true as steel. Last night the old folks were terribly dull and downspirited. But when she came in from her work she soon had them laughing and joking. Then she sang a song or two at the piano. Every one was cheerful at bedtime, but when I went into her room to say good night I found her crying. Ah! she's a fine girl, our Marie.'

'Well, that's the last of Inverness for a while anyway,' broke in another Cameron as he caught a passing glimpse of the town across a little bay. He opened the window, looked out, then seated himself and drew the window shut again.

The youngest Territorial produced a parcel of pastry and began to distribute the contents.

'Where is your active service badge?' asked the fair Highlander somewhat sharply.

'I haven't got it yet,' the other answered in a low voice.

'Haven't you volunteered?'

'I was never asked to volunteer.'

'Oh! you were never asked?' the fair one repeated twice over, with a tinge of sarcasm in his voice. 'If not, why have you not offered yourself?'

Four pairs of hard eyes were turned on the lad with the pastry.

'Where do you come from?' asked the eldest Cameron.

'From Ross-shire,' was the answer. The youth was blushing.

'You should be in the Seaforths. . . . Did you join the Camerons to wait until you would be asked to go out with the rest of the boys?'

'Since you put it that way,' the youth remarked softly as he handed out more pastries, 'I'll give you a straight answer. I'll volunteer as soon as I get back.'

'Now you're speaking like a man!' the fair Highlander commented. 'But it is a pity,' he added wistfully, 'you didn't volunteer sooner.'

'You should never have waited to be asked,' another added firmly.

Such is the spirit which has pervaded the Highlands since the outbreak of war last August. In some districts ninety per cent. of the Territorials volunteered for active service quite spontaneously at mobilisation. The great majority of ex-Territorials also rejoined with little hesitation, not a few making great sacrifices in the hour of need. A profound realisation of public duty was everywhere made manifest, and soon the glens and townships and little burghs seemed to be inhabited by old men and women and girls and young children. Sturdy overgrown boys added a year or two to their ages and followed brothers and fathers to bring up battalions to full strength and overflow into new ones. Young men from southern cities also returned home singly and in batches to don kilts and shoulder rifles as eagerly as did their ancestors in other days.

The conversation then turned to the discomforts and strain of trench fighting. 'To be quite frank, lads,' the fair Highlander said, 'I am not longing to go out.'

'Neither am I,' agreed a fellow. 'But when the time comes to go, I will go cheerfully with the rest.'

'Quite so,' the fair one assented; 'who wants to be maimed for life or killed in his prime? At the same time who wouldn't face anything that has to be faced?'

'I am with you,' another chimed in. 'We have to fight in this war just for the same reason as we have worked at home—for the sake of those who depend upon us.'

'The old folks, and the women and the bairns,' said the fair Highlander. 'We have to fight for them as did others before us among the hills.' He pointed to a ridge of snow-clad mountains. 'Look at them!' he exclaimed with fervour. 'The hills of the Highlands! Many a time in Bedford I've longed for a sight of them.'

There was silence for a moment. All eyes were turned towards the serene mountains, and the faces of the Highlanders flushed with emotion and looked at once proud and self-conscious.

The past, their own folks, and their native land had made these kilted lads patriots, men of honour and brave soldiers. They had been born in a country rich with traditions of self-sacrifice and heroism. Their very names were an inspiration to them.

'Remember,' the Highland mother says to a son who is leaving home for the first time, 'remember you are a Mackay. Never do anything which will bring disgrace to the name you bear.' So speak also, in the solemn moments of parting, mothers who are Frasers, Macraes, Macleods, Macdonalds, Mackenzies, Macdougals, or members of other proud and

ancient clans. Highland pride is in essence self-respect: it is a sentimental attachment to an ideal; it is also buttressed by traditions—family traditions, clan traditions, and territorial traditions. Highlanders have long memories. To them a hundred years seem of less duration than to a town-dweller. The humblest may trace his ancestry back to the days when clans were a reality and chiefs were chiefs indeed. He can people the centuries as other men people a single lifetime.

‘On that hill yonder,’ remarked an old Invernessian Highlander to the writer one summer evening, ‘the women and children of the township watched the battle of Culloden. . . . Prince Charlie rode past where we are now standing when it was all over.’

In the Hebrides you will still be shown the Prince’s hiding-places. You will also be shown the houses of the heroes of the Peninsular War and Waterloo.

‘The men of Bragar,’ exclaimed a native of that Lewis township to the writer, ‘returned home blinded by the burning sands of Egypt. My father used to be telling me he remembered well the old blind soldiers who fought against Napoleon.’

You will hear, too, of the heroes of many a clan fight on land and sea, in deep glens and on rough island shorelands, of broken clans and shattered galleys. Song and story of heroes and heroic deeds may thrill through a bagpipe tune which rouses the wearied soldier on a long march or invites him to share the glories of ancestral memory. Byron understood this when he wrote of the march to Waterloo:—

And wild and high the ‘Cameron’s Gathering’ rose!
 The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn’s hills
 Have heard, as heard, too, have her Saxon foes:
 How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills
 Savage and shrill! But with the breath which fills
 Their mountain pipe, so fill the mountaineers
 With the fierce native daring which instils
 The stirring memory of a thousand years,
 And Evan’s, Donald’s fame rings in each clansman’s ears.

It is not to be wondered at that no part of the British Isles has displayed more patriotism in the present war than the Highlands of Scotland. The sons of the sons of the clansmen have been found ready because they remember the past, and consequently look towards the future with confident hearts, cherishing the ideals which they inherit and seek to perpetuate, and inspired with that love of freedom and hate of tyranny which they imbibed with their mother’s milk. The glens have been emptied of their manhood to-day because the glens are well loved, and because they are memoried places which perpetuate traditions of heroism and public duty. May this not be forgotten when the war is over! The Highlander has not sought to bargain his patriotism with his fellow-citizens of Empire. His service is spontaneous and unconditional. He has a reputation to uphold, not only before the eyes of the world, but before

himself. Let it be understood that his love of home and all that it means to him—that sentiment which unites the past with the present—is the essence of his patriotism. In the hour of his country's need he has not been found wanting. Nor will the Highlander ever be found wanting so long as the ideals for which the allied nations are now fighting are regarded also as his own particular right and portion. To him the land of glens and bens and heroes is the fairest land upon earth, and that land has made him the man he is.

D. A. MACKENZIE.

MANY Gaelic-speaking men are home wounded from the fighting line, and many more will undoubtedly be sent home before the war is finished.

AN COMUNN GAIDHEALACH have arranged with the proper authorities to provide a small ward in Woodside Military Hospital, Glasgow, specially for Gaelic-speaking soldiers. It is promised by the Red Cross Society that the 'Comunn Gaidhealach Ward' will be in charge of a Gaelic-speaking nurse, and that a preference will be given to Highland Gaelic-speaking soldiers. £50 provides for one bed.

Mr. MALCOLM MACLEOD, 5 Church Road, Ibrox, Glasgow, President of An Comunn Gaidhealach, has agreed to act as Treasurer, and to him subscriptions should be sent. We are sure many readers of the *Celtic Review* will gratefully take advantage of this opportunity.

THE Co-operative Council of Highland Home Industries—a body which owes its existence to An Comunn Gaidhealach—invites those who wish to buy or give orders for woollen goods of any kind for our soldiers or sailors to do so at the dépôt at 132 George Street, Edinburgh, where there are quantities of tweed, hand-knit socks, knitting wool, etc. etc., made in the Highlands—largely in the Islands.

The suspension of the herring fishing last season and this has alone meant the loss of many thousands of pounds to the girls and women of the islands, and knitting and weaving are among the few ways open to them of making a living.

THE Scotch Education Department have announced their intention to set a Gaelic paper in the Higher Grade at the next Leaving Certificate Examination. This decision, which comes none too soon, is wise, and it is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of it. As to requirements, the Department, in the meantime, asks each school to submit a scheme of study for approval.

Two things have to be kept in view. The Gaelic paper will be in point of difficulty on a level with the paper set in other languages. The time, therefore, allotted to Gaelic in the school time-table must be much the same as that allotted to other languages.

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THE MACKAYS OF STRATHNAVER

REV. A. MACLEAN SINCLAIR, LL.D.

990. Gillecatan	1200. Aodh
1020. Gallbrat	1230. Morgan and Ferchar
1050. Aod	1260. Donald
1080. Maddan	1290. Aodh
1110. Angus and Aod	1320. Donald and Ferchar
1140. Aod	1350. Angus
1170. Angus and John	1380. Angus Og

AOD, son of Gallbrat son of Gillecattan, was born about the year 1050. He had two sons, Gillemichel and Maddan. The Mackays of North Kintyre were descended from Gillemichel; the Mackays of Strathnaver were descended from Maddan or Moddan.

The Gaelic name Madadhan means little mastiff, and becomes in English Maddan or Moddan. The Gaelic name Aed, Aedh, Aod or Aodh means fire or a man of fire, and becomes in English Eth or Iye. In Mackay 'ay' is not pronounced like 'a' in gay, but like the letter 'i.' Aed and Aod were in course of time softened down to Aedh and Aodh. I suspect that Ottar has generally been looked upon as being a Norwegian name. It is simply the Gaelic name Aod, which would appear in the writings of a Norwegian scribe as Ottar, the 'r' being merely the sign of the nominative singular masculine.

Maddan, son of Aod son of Gallbrat son of Gillecattan, lived in Strathnaver and was a man of prominence and

wealth. He had five children : Angus, Aod, Helga, Frakach and Thorlief. Angus was known to the Norwegians as Engus inn orvi, Aonghus Fial or Angus the Liberal. Aod was known to them as Ott or Otta. Some copyist, assuming no doubt that Engus was a Scandinavian name, changed it to Magnus.

It is said that Aodh, son of Angus the Liberal, married the daughter of John, Bishop of Caithness from 1198 to 1213, and that he had by her Angus his heir. The story which assures us that the Mackay who married the bishop's daughter had been chamberlain to the bishop is simply absurd. If a chamberlain would require to be able to read and write, it is quite likely that Angus did not possess the necessary qualifications. Aodh, son of Angus, son of Aodh, son of Angus, married in all probability a daughter of Ferchar Mac-in-tagart, and had by her Morgan and Ferchar. Aodh, son of Donald, son of Morgan, had three children, Donald, Ferchar, and Marion or Mariotta. Donald succeeded his father. Ferchar or Farquhar was physician to King Robert II. In 1379 he received from the king a charter of the lands of Melness and Hope. In 1386 he received from the same king a charter of the Little Islands of Strathnaver. It is probable that Alexander Stewart, the Wolf of Badenoch, son of King Robert, took Mariotta, Ferchar's sister, to live with him, and that he had by her Alexander, Earl of Mar, and Margaret, wife of Robert, Earl of Sutherland. Donald, son of Aodh, married a sister of Roderick Macleod of Lewis, and had by her Angus, his successor.

In 1370 a meeting was held at Dingwall for the purpose of settling certain matters in dispute between William Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, and Donald Mackay of Strathnaver. As there was no settlement effected on the first day there was to be another meeting held on the next day. During the night Nicholas Sutherland or Gordon, brother of the Earl of Sutherland, entered the house in which Mackay and his son were sleeping, and murdered both of them.

It is evident from this horrible act on the part of the Gordons that the decision to be given by the arbiters was likely to be in favour of the Mackays.

Donald Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, claimed the Earldom of Ross, and in 1411 determined to take possession of it. Angus Dubh Mackay met him at Dingwall as commander-in-chief of his own clan and other clans. In the battle which took place Angus was defeated and taken prisoner. Rory Gallda, his brother, was slain. If Angus Dubh had not been descended from Ferchar Mac-intagart, it is not likely that the Ross-shire clans would have been so ready as they were to fight under him.

The Lord of the Isles sent Angus Dubh to Castle Tirim in Moidart. He was kept there for some time. He was of course treated with respect and kindness.

It is possible that Angus Dubh handfasted with some woman, and that he had by her John Abrach. It is also possible that he married a woman who was within the prohibited degrees of relationship, and that the Lord of the Isles procured for him a dissolution of the marriage tie. John Abrach may have been born as early as the year 1393, and may have been taken prisoner at Dingwall. He may also have been sent to Keppoch to be kept there and cared for by Alister Carrach. I suspect that such must have been the case. John Abrach was a man of ability and of a high sense of honour. He was also a good warrior.

In 1411 or 1412 Angus Dubh married Elizabeth, sister of the Lord of the Isles and Alister Carrach, and was allowed to return to Strathnaver. In October 1415 he received from the Lord of the Isles a charter of the lands of Strathalladale, Pulrossie, Creich and others. In the charter he is described as Angus Og Mackay of Strathnaver. The witnesses were Lachlan Bronnach Maclean of Duart and Roderick Macleod of Lewis.

In 1427 King James I. seized at Inverness, by an act of gross treachery, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, Angus Dubh of Strathnaver, Kenneth Mor Mackenzie, Angus Murray,

and Macmahon. Angus Dubh was released in a short time, but had to give up to the king Neil, his son and heir. Neil was sent to the Bass Rock and kept there for a number of years. Owing to his long residence on the Bass, he came to be known among his people as Niall a Bhais, Neil Vass or Neil of the Bass.

In 1433 Angus Murray of Cubin invaded Strathnaver. He was met by the Mackays at Drum nan Coup, which is about two miles from Castle Varrich. Angus Dubh was present, but was not allowed to take part in the battle. John Abrach, his eldest son, led the clan and proved himself to be a gallant fighter. Angus Dubh was killed by an arrow. It is said that the man who slew him was concealed in some bushes. He was succeeded by his second son Neil, who escaped from the Bass in the summer of 1436.

Neil Vass was born probably about 1412. He married a daughter of George Munro of Fowlis, and had by her Angus Roy and John Roy. Angus Roy married a daughter of Mackenzie of Kintail and had three sons, Iye Roy, John Riabhach and Neil Naverach. He was put to death by the Rosses of Balnagown in 1486. John Riabhach, his second son, attacked and defeated the Rosses in July 1487. We find Iye Roy described in 1496 as Y McKy of Straithnaver. He handfasted with a daughter of Norman, son of Patrick O'Beolan, and had by her John and Donald, both of whom were legitimated in August 1511. John, son of Iye Roy, succeeded his father in 1517, and was succeeded by his brother Donald in 1529. Donald married Helen, daughter of Alexander Sinclair of Stemster, son of the Earl of Caithness, and had by her Iye Dubh and two daughters. Iye Dubh succeeded his father in 1550. He handfasted with Helen, daughter of Macleod of Assynt, and had by her John Beg and Donald Balloch. He married Christy, daughter of John Sinclair of Dun, and by her had Uisdean Dubh, or Black Hugh, and William of Bighouse. He died in 1572.

Uisdean Dubh was born in 1561. He married Jane, daughter of Alexander Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, and

had by her Donald, his successor, and John of Strathy. In an official document of the year 1587, we find him described as Macky of Far. He was a man of great energy and activity. He died in 1614.

Donald, son of Uisdean Dubh, was born in 1591, and succeeded his father in 1614. He was knighted in 1616. He purchased Reay, Sandside, Dachou, Borlum, Shurery, and other lands in 1624. In 1626 he raised, for service under Gustavus Adolphus, 3600 men, consisting of Mackays, Sinclairs, Gunns, Gordons, Munros and others. He was created a baronet, 1627, and shortly afterwards went to Germany, took charge of his men, and led them in several battles. He was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Reay in 1628. He was married three times. By his first wife, Barbara, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, he had four sons, Iye, John, Hugh and Angus. By his third wife, a daughter of Francis Sinclair of Stircoke, he had three sons, William, Charles, and Rupert. He died at Copenhagen in 1649. His body was taken home and buried at Kirkibol. He was a man of brains, courage, and energy. His eldest son died young. He was succeeded by his second son, John.

John, second Lord Reay, married a daughter of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scourie, and had Donald, Angus, and Robert. Donald was a man of ability and worth. He was killed in 1680 by the accidental discharge of a barrel of gunpowder. Angus, second son of John, Lord Reay, was a brigadier in the army. The present chief of the Mackays is descended from him.

George, son of the Donald who was killed in 1680, succeeded his grandfather as Lord Reay, and also as chief of the Mackays, a much higher honour than being Lord Reay. A king can make a belted knight, a lord or duke, but a Highland chief he cannot make. Donald, son of George, was the fourth Lord Reay. He died in 1761. Rob Donn, who was an honest man and a good poet, composed a truthful and beautiful elegy about him.

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(Continued from page 115)

GAELIC TEXT

Is and sin ro fobair Ampiarus in t-uasal sacart do Grecaib
Fol. 17b 1. calma do denum. Acus ro gres a eochu ana athloma co
talchar tindisnach, coma luaithred lan-min in roe¹ croda
comraic da eis cach conair concinget in cairpthech sin. Acus
ba delradach alaind² is in n-uair sin amail renna ro solesi
taitnem a cathbarr caim cumaidi³ 7 a sciath cuanda capra-
daig itir na cathaib ceachtarda. Acus imasae⁴ fa na
sluagaib comma tregdailhi toitmithi tren-fhir tenda Thia-
banda fo armaib cach conair ina slaigid in sluag. Acus is
and sin ro comraic do-sum ar lar in chatha 7 Flegias feochair
fir-garg do Tiabandaib, 7 ro curset comlond croda curata re
h-ed 7 athaig⁵ co ro crechtnaig cach aroili dib, 7 i forciund
in comruic do rochair Flegias do laim ind arsig⁶ Ampiarus.
Do riacht ar sin chuici fer dian⁷ diumsach sili do Thiabandaib
.i. Pileius, 7 ro curset na curaid cruaid-irgal etorro, 7 ro thoit
in Tiabanda do'n gleo sin. As ahaithli⁸ sin ro beansat⁹ ris
in da na⁹ curaid croda comromacha do'n chiniud cetna .i.
Cromis 7 Émeta, 7 ro fuaibredar¹⁰ ar sin Ampiarus co
h-ainmin 7 co h-acarb. Acht clana ba daib-sium tiug-ba(s)
in tachair sin, uair do thoitset do gonaib amainse¹¹ aicbeli
Ampiarus. Atchoncadar sin¹² triar talchar trenfher do
Tiabandaib ro luath-indsaiged ar¹³ Ampiarus do digail na
sarecht¹⁴ sin air .i. Iponorus 7 Sagis 7 Guan¹⁵ glond-mer
gaiscedach, 7 frecrais 7 frithailis in t-arsaig¹⁶ Ampiarus

¹ ré.

² dath-alaind.

³ cumdaighi.

⁴ imaseig.

⁵ Eg. adds cor' úo samalta re crothad gáithe na láich sin, 7.

⁶ áirsidh.

⁷ Eg. omits.

⁸ Ahaithli.

⁹⁻⁹ in da.

¹⁰ fopratar.

¹¹ Eg. omits.

¹² Eg. adds tra.

¹³ Eg. omits.

¹⁴ na n-echt.

¹⁵ Gífan.

¹⁶ MS. arnaig.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

AND now the noble Greek priest Amphiaraus proceeded to perform deeds of valour. He urged his splendid, nimble steeds persistently, pressingly, so that the bloody battlefield behind him was a surface of finely ground ashes in every path over which that chariot fighter drove. Brilliant and beautiful like very bright stars was at that time the gleam of his fair, well-shaped helmet and of his polished, wooden shield as he moved between the battalions of either people. He careered among the hosts with such effect that stout and strong Thebans, pierced and fallen by his weapons, strewed each path as he hewed his way among the hosts. There encountered him in the centre of the field the fiery, fierce Theban Phlegyas. The two fought a brave, valiant duel for a space and a while ; both were wounded ; but the issue of the combat was that Phlegyas fell by the hand of the veteran Amphiaraus. Then there attacked him a vehement, haughty Theban, Phyleas. The champions fought a stern fight and the Theban fell in the conflict. Thereafter two brave, contentious champions of the same race set upon him, Chromis and Crematon. These attacked him roughly and stoutly. Still it was to them their last fight, for both fell by the severe, fatal wounds (inflicted) by Amphiaraus. When three stout, sturdy Thebans saw this they straightway made for Amphiaraus to avenge these renowned feats, viz. Iphinous and Gages and fearful, heroic Gyas. The veteran Amphiaraus met this fresh onset by his crushing, hearty, warlike blows, which made the fair, white-skinned

iat o brath-buillib mera mileta comtis ¹ fadba fiar-letairthe cuirp chaema chnes-gela na curad comramach ua ² chrolindtib fola fichithi foruaidi da eis. Acus ar na toitim leis ro fhobair Alchatonus ³ Tiabanda an irgail air, 7 ro (f)rithail-sium h-e; 7 tarraid cloich cruaid comamais, 7 tarlaic (urchar) do Alchatonus ³ co r' bean i cleithi i cend-mullaig co torcair can anmain.

Adchondair ri sotal sar-echtach do Tiauadaib in t-echt sin .u. Ipseus mac Assapos; 7 ba trom 7 ba tren-galar les na h-ara acgarba aidbli dorad Ampiarus ar na slogaib, 7 nir ael ⁴ fulang do gan a digail air, gen gor ⁵ thais da eneoche, amal ro bui ⁶ ac slaigi gasraidh Grec. ⁷ Acus o ⁷ ro comraicsedar in da curaid croda sin ro gab cach dib ac tarcasin ⁸ 7 ac tomaithium uar ⁹ aroili.

O d' chondaire tra Apaill deu na faistine sin tue urchar da ga ¹⁰ don araid ro bui i carbat Ampiarus .u. Alegmon co ro thoit gan a(n)main as a carbad amach. Acus tanic fen Fol. 17b2. 'na inad, 7 ro gob deilb in n-arad fair, 7 ¹¹ ruc les na h-eochu 7 in carpad ar imgabail Ipseus. Acus ro bui Apaill and sin ac setugud carpait Ampiarus 7 ac dirgud a ¹² urchur 7 certugud ¹³ a ech conatabrad in fer sin fas-builli no urchur cen amus. Ro didned dno ¹⁴ h-e con a echaib ar urcharaib aicbeli a bidbad. Is and sin ro iadsat in cethrar ¹⁵ curada do Tiabandaib im Ampiarus .u. in cosigi mer mor-dalach Menelaus, 7 in marcach ard allata Antipus, ¹⁶ 7 in t-arsich eingnuma Accíon, 7 in laech lond mer Lapus. Ro comgres Apaill eochu Ampiarus i cend na curad sin co dian 7 co dasachtach, 7 ro imir cles carpait forru contorechradar ¹⁷ ua chosaib na n-ech con(d)erna comach 7 combrud ¹⁸ da cnamaib fa ¹⁹ chorraib 7 co fuaridar bas. Cid tra acht ba tairmesc erma 7 imtechta do na h-echaib sin Ampiarus cona roictis a cosa ²⁰ comgabail in talman re h-imad na corp cnes-gel curad letarthi ²¹ 7 na sleg sesmach sir-(sh)aiti a sechnachaib

¹ combidis.² fo.³⁻³ Alcatous.⁴ fét a fhulang.⁵ céin cor.⁶ Eg. adds fen.⁷⁻⁷ omits.⁸ tarcusne.⁹ omits.¹⁰ gai. ¹¹ omits.¹² omits.¹³ certud.¹⁴ MS. l.¹⁵ cethern.¹⁶ Intipus.¹⁷ Eg. adds son.¹⁸ combrisedh.¹⁹ uo.²⁰ Eg. adds a.²¹ letartha.

bodies of the champions mangled masses (steeped in) pools of vanquished (?) deep-red blood. When these fell Alcathous the Theban took up the quarrel (Amphiarus) responded. He seized a hard, serviceable stone and threw it at Alcathous and hit him on the roof of his skull and killed him. A proud, very powerful Theban king observed this, Hypseus son of Asopus. He felt sad and sore at the fierce and heavy slaughter which Amphiarus made among the troops, and could not bear to leave them unavenged without injury (?) to his honour, so sore was he smiting the warriors of the Greeks.

As these two hardy champions fought each of them flung affronts and contumelious language at the other.

Now when Apollo the god of prophecy observed this he made a cast of his spear at Aliagmon, Amphiarus's charioteer, which made him fall lifeless out of the chariot. He himself took his place and assumed the likeness of the charioteer, and guided the horses and chariot out of the reach of Hypseus. Apollo was then guiding the chariot of Amphiarus, directing his shots, and driving his horses to such effect that the latter did not deliver an ineffective blow or a shot that missed its mark. He also shielded man and horses from the vengeful casts of his foes. And now these four Theban champions closed round Amphiarus, the spirited, stately Menalas on foot, the high, renowned Antiphas on horseback, the famous veteran Aethion, and the fiery hero Lampas. Apollo drove the steeds of Amphiarus swiftly, furiously against these champions. He practised a chariot-feat upon them so that they fell under the horses' feet. Their bodies were crushed and their bones broken under the wheels of the chariot, and they thus were slain. And now the horses of Amphiarus raced and sped with such frenzy that their hoofs reached not the ground from the many white-skinned carcasses of mangled champions and

na ¹ saer chland cor' ba comderg uili ² a eich 7 a charpat o braenaib fola falemaer i ³ taebaib tren-milead togaidi.

Ro ben imorro Apaill ann sin a deilb n-druidechta ⁴ de, 7 da chuaid 'na richt fen, 7 ⁵ ro labair ⁶ ra h-Ampiarus 7 is ed ro raid: 'Is i seo,' ⁷ ar se, 'erich 7 cindiud ⁸ do shaeguil, 7 ni edaim ⁹-sea t' imdegail ni a sia, 7 merdait ¹⁰ do scela 7 do chlu co forcend ¹¹ sasgail 7 co deread n-aimsiri. Acus erig i muigib aduathmara ifirn amal ro cindned dit, uair is ferr duid ¹² ina beth ¹² cen adbaid n-adnocail ¹³ i tir na Tebi togaidi.'

Ro recair Ampiarus 7 is ed ro raid: 'A uasail, a Apaill,' ar se, ro airigis tu isin carpud, 7 is fir a n-abraid ¹⁴ uair adcluin-sea fen srotha grana garb-fuara ifirn ar a trethan 7 ar a tondgail ¹⁵ ac imiaraid, 7 adcluimim dno ¹⁶ Cerber craes-soslaici, cu Oirc, ¹⁷ doirrseoir imnedach ¹⁸ ifirn ac am ¹⁹ astraig ac orm gairm, 7 beir-siu let na coroni ²⁰ coseretha stat ma ²¹ m' chend, uair ni dlegur a m-breth a n-ifirn.' Ro erich imorro ²² Apaill uad-sum asahaithli sin 7 ro (f)acaib e; 7 o da chuaid uad tuc Ampiarus a chned curad os aird re h-ecla ind etualaing.

Et ¹¹ is ann sin tanic trethan 7 talam-cumscugad mot isin talmain a rabadar co ro erig a luaithred 7 a lan-gainem cor' ua ceo comdluith cumasceda i timchell na sluag. Et ²³ ro comerig torand tren mox tolgach ar sin, co ²⁴ ro chiubrig 7 co ²⁴ ro chengail na catha ceachtarda nar ba tualaing
Fol. 18a 1. dumdib ursclaidi na h-imbualadh is in n-uair sin, acht ro uadar 'na sesam 7 cranda a sleg cosaiti ²⁵ re n-ochtaib; 7 ²⁶ orobadar-som amlaid sin co tai tostach re h-ecla m-bresmad-manda bratha buaidirthe ²⁷ adchualadar, ro dianscail ²⁸ in talam in tan sin comma h-all fir-domuin fudomanta forba na faichthi fond-glaisi ara rabadar.

¹ Eg. omits.

⁵ Ro ben imorro.

⁹ fedaim.

¹³ Eg. adds in as beth.

¹⁷ Eg. adds uruadhaichi.

²¹ fo. omits.

²⁵ saiti. ²⁶ omits.

² oil.

⁶ Eg. adds imorro.

¹⁰ mersait.

¹⁴ abrain.

¹⁸ Eg. omits.

²² omits.

²⁷ m-bratha m-buaidirthe.

³ a.

⁷ so.

¹¹⁻¹¹ forcind.

¹⁵ tondgar.

¹⁹ agum.

²³ omits.

⁴ draighdechta.

⁸ cinned.

¹²⁻¹² am betha.

¹⁶ MS. I.

²⁰ coiroine.

²⁴⁻²⁴ omits.

²⁸ dianscail.

spears firmly fixed in the sides of noble warriors, so that horses and chariot were red all over with the drops of wet deep-red blood that streamed from the sides of select strong warriors.

Then Apollo divested himself of his wizard guise. He assumed his own form and addressed Amphiaraus and spoke thus: 'This,' said he, 'is the end and termination of your life. I may not shield you further. But your story and fame shall endure till the close of ages and the end of time. And now go to the horrid plains of hell, as has been decreed regarding you, for this is a better fate than to be without a place of sepulture in the land of Thebes.' Amphiaraus replied to him, and thus spoke: 'Noble Apollo,' said he, 'I felt that it was you who has been beside me in the chariot. And what you have said is truth, for I myself hear the rush and roar of the loathsome, rough-cold streams of hell awaiting me, and I hear also the wide-mouthed Cerberus the dog of Orcus, the dread doorward of hell inviting and calling me. But do you take with you the sacred laurels that encircle my brow, for it is unlawful to bring them to hell.' Now after that Apollo went away and left him; and when he did so, Amphiaraus groaned loud and sore in fear of the disaster awaiting him.

Then there came a great rush and earth-quaking in the ground on which he was, so that the dust and all the sand rose and made very thick, confusing mist around the hosts. Thereafter came mighty great crashing thunder, which held and bound the battalions on either side so that they were for the time unable either to attack or smite, but only to stand with the shafts of their spears fixed against their breasts. As they stood thus terrified by the crashing, destructive, stupefying sounds which they heard, the earth widely opened at once so that the surface of the green lawn on which they stood became a very deep, profound cave. The earth opened and swallowed up the mighty and great Amphiaraus with his weapons and armour and horses and chariot, and he went without retracing a step straight down to the bottom of cold hell.

Acus ro oslaic in talman 7 ro sluic Ampiarus tren adbal con a armaib 7 con a erred 7 con a echaib 7 con a charpad no ¹ co ranic co ² h-ichtar ifirn n-ad(fh)uair cen chem ar cula.

O ra siacht imorro Ampiarus in ifirn ro gob grain 7 ecla aireachta ³ aduathmar ⁴ ifirn remi, uair nir ba h-aithnig ⁵ daib conici sin miled gan marbad na eich na carbaid do rochtain chucu. Acus tue Oirc, ri ifirn athais mor ar daib nua-glana nime ⁶ m'an ⁷ fer sin do lecu ⁸ chuci. ⁹ Acus do rigni spraic moir 7 tomaitheam adbul ar Ampiarus. Ro (f)reacair Ampiarus co h-obann 7 co h-enirt dosum 7 is ed ro raid: 'Toirind t'(fh)eirg,' ar se, 'uair ni d'indred na d'argain ifirn tanac-sa, 7 ni tra m'ole fen tue chucaib-si me, acht mo ban-cheli ¹⁰ fen dam brath ar i muntore oir do thobairt do Argia di .u. do mnaoi Polinices. Acus ro ailgiusa ¹¹ me fen ar teiched thoigeachta ¹² do thogail Tebi, uair ro fhedur co fuigbind m'aeded ¹³ aici. Acus na bid a ¹⁴ ole acid-su ¹⁵ mo thoidecht-sa ille, uair do gentar cluicheada caintechna ¹⁶ 7 adnocail ¹⁶ onoracha dam ac Grecaib 7 cuirsed ¹⁷ me an grian brodaib ¹⁸ ailli ¹⁹ ifirn.'

Ro cendsaiged tra ained Oirc o t' chualaich sin 7 ro (f)aem gach ni ro raid Ampiarus. Da rig dhech ro marb Ampiarus in sacart .u. in fer tuaichell tuicsenach dathog-ochaide. ²⁰

Imtusa nan Grec imorro: robadar ac iarraid Ampiarus sechnon in chatha, uair nir ba demin las a ²¹ aiged in fhir sin, 7 ba h-eclach iad resin tulmaidm talman adchond catar ar lar in maigi i rabadar. Et in am ²² ro badar amlaid sin tanic Palemon, taisech do Grecaib, do chum Adraist 7 ro indis do ²³ aiged Ampiarus .u. a thoitim is in tulmaidm ²³ thalman 7
Fol. 18a 2. gan a faicsin na diaid 7 adbart: 'A aird-ri,' ar se, 'facbum in tir n-aneoil n-urbadach-sa i tangamar, uair atat tulcha na Tebi ac slucad na slog 7 atat a curaid 'gar commaideam

¹ omits.² omits.³ oireachta.⁴ aduathmara.⁵ aithnid.⁶ nim.⁷ mun.⁸ lecen.⁹ chucu.¹⁰ omits.¹¹ failgiusa.¹² thoigecht.¹³ aeiged.¹⁴ omits.¹⁵ agutsa.¹⁶⁻¹⁸ omits.¹⁷ cuiridh-si.¹⁸ brogaib.¹⁹ omits.²⁰ togaidhi.²¹ omits.²² uair.²³⁻²³ Ampiarus do thoitim tulmaidm is in.

Now when Amphiaraus arrived in hell abhorrence and fear of him took hold of the dreadful cohorts of hell, for hitherto they knew not of an unslain warrior or horses or a chariot reaching their abodes. And Orcus the king of hell greatly blamed the bright gods of heaven for permitting that man to come to them; and greatly censured and violently threatened Amphiaraus himself. Amphiaraus replied to him feebly and faintly and spoke thus: 'Calm your wrath,' said he, 'for I have not come to raid and harry hell; and it is through no sin of my own that I am here, but because my wife betrayed me for a necklace of gold which Argia the wife of Polinices gave to her. And I myself wished to avoid coming to destroy Thebes, for I knew that I should come to a violent end there. Do not you take it ill that I have come thither, for the Greeks will hold funeral games to my memory and give me honourable burial; but place me in the beautiful, sunny regions of hell.' When Orcus heard this his mind was soothed and he consented to do everything that Amphiaraus said. Twelve Theban chiefs did Amphiaraus the priest slay, that acute, intelligent, excellent man.

As to the Greeks now. They were searching for Amphiaraus throughout the battle-field for they were not certain of his death, but they were frightened at the earthquake which they witnessed in the middle of the field in which he was. And while they were thus occupied, Palaemo a Grecian chief came to Adrastus and told him of the fate of Amphiaraus, how he fell in the earthquake and was not seen afterwards, and added: 'High King,' said he, 'let us leave this strange and dangerous country to which we came, for the knolls of Thebes are swallowing our warriors and her champions are defying us, and their gods are betraying and forsaking us.' Adrastus was stupefied by this calamity.

7 an dei 'gar m-brath 7 'gar trecum. Ro h-ocht¹ Adraist ar a n-ecen sin, 7 ro chreid achetoir sin cei(n) no² co tangadar dias eile do munter chuci .i. Mopsus 7 Actor, 7 cor' indiseadar ana cetna do conathuilled 7 con a tormuch.

Acus is do'n scel sin ro impotar catha croda nan Grec do chum a longpuirt co teichech³ 7 co tindisnach na⁴ gan crich comlaind 7 gan reb chatha do chorigud.⁵ Ua scitha a n-eich 7 a n-araid 7 bat mertnecha a milid 7 ba toirsech a trenfhir ahaithli na h-irgaili sin⁶ ar tuit⁶ Ampiarus. Dala na Tiabanda imorro bu subach sonairt ro chuingset,⁷ 7 tanic ind agaid fae sin. Cet cath na Tebi sin.

Ba dubach do-meanmnach tra ro chaithseadar Greic⁸ in n-aidchi sin ina longport,⁹ 7 ni h-ead molad a n-ech(t) na 'n engnuma fein do rindsed acht comroma Ampiarus 7 a gnimrada¹⁰ gaiscid d'indism. Acus ro chindsead sollamna seineamla 7 idbarta onoracha do denam do, 7 ro badar snima 7 sir-imsnima in chathaighthi co mor ara menmaindaib nan Grec, cein no co ro-s-toit¹¹ a suan 7 a ùr-chotlud orra.

Nir ba h-amlaid sin tra ro chaithset na Tiabanda ind aidchi sin; acht ro badar ac ol 7 ac aibnius 7 ac admolad an¹² engnuma an aithrech 7 a sen-aithrech 7 ac idbartaib¹³ da n-(d)eib uaisli adartha. Et is i sin cet adaig indister Eidib mac Laius, athair Ethiocles 7 Polinices do tobairt ahaithli a dal(l)ta, d'ol 7 d'aibnius do chum na Tiabanda, 7 indister co nar foilcead a fholt 7 co nar h-indlad a aiged o ra dellad h-e co h-aes na fuairi¹⁴-sea ar met na duba. Acus ni d'ol na d'aibnis no¹⁵ tainic cucu is in n-aidchi sin acht do commorad in¹⁶ chatha iter na Tiabandaib 7 na Grecaib. Acus ba h-alaind in cleithi do nid-som. Acus¹⁷ is amlaid sin ro badar in lucht sin in aidchi sin, Adraist imorro, ardri¹⁸ Grec, ge ra chadladar¹⁹ a shloig re h-athscis na h-irgaili, nir chadail fen ac eistecht re gairib suba 7 so-menman na

¹ Socht.² MS. l.³ teichedhech.⁴ omits.⁵ chorud.⁶⁻⁸ omits.⁷ chuinnisit.⁸ Greeda.⁹ lonportaib.¹⁰ gnimmartha.¹¹ toitsit.¹² omits.¹³ idbart.¹⁴ h-uairi.¹⁵ MS. l.¹⁶ omits.¹⁷ omits.¹⁸ 7 airdrigha.¹⁹ MS. chladadar; Eg. ger ro cotludsit fen.

He straightway believed what was told him ; and thereafter two others of his people, Mopsus and Actor, came and repeated the same story with additions and increase. In consequence of this information the brave battalions of the Greeks returned to the camp without a decisive fight and unattended by the trappings of battle. Their horses and charioteers were exhausted, their warriors were depressed, and their men of valour were sad after that struggle in which Amphiaraus fell. The Thebans on the other hand marched merrily and strenuously. And night fell at this juncture. Such was the first battle of the Theban war.

Mournfully and sadly now did the Greeks pass that night in their camp. They lauded not their own exploits or achievements, but they spoke of the combats of Amphiaraus and his feats of valour. They resolved to celebrate special solemnities and to offer noble sacrifices in his honour. The thoughts and pressing anxieties of the war weighed heavily on the minds of the Greeks until they fell asleep. But not thus did the Thebans pass that night. They drank and made merry ; they lauded their own achievements and recalled those of their fathers and grandfathers ; they offered sacrifices to their honourable, adorable gods. And it is reported that this was the first night that Oedipus son of Laius and father of Etioles and Polinices, since he became blind, was brought to scenes of joy to Thebes. It is further related that since he was blinded his hair was not cleansed nor his face washed until that time because of his great sorrow. Nor was it to drink and enjoy himself that he appeared among them that night, but to promote the war between the Thebans and the Greeks, and right nobly did he perform his part. Such was the manner in which the (Thebans) passed that night. But as to Adrastus, the high King of the Greeks, although his troops after

Tiabanda is an aidchi sin. Acus be h-adbul a imshuim leiseom sin.

O thainic imorrow la con a lan-soillsi ar na barach do rigned ¹ condi 7 comairli ac Grecaib da ordugud cia no rigfaidis in inad Ampiarus. Acus ² do genad ³ faistine 7 fir-eolus d' aisneis dara eiss daib. Is h-e tra ro h-ordaiged leo 'ne inad in fisid fir-eolach .i. Tiodomus ⁴ mac Malampus. Acus is e athair ind fhir sin Melampus dorindi faistine aroen ⁵ re h-Ampiarus do Grecaib re teacht ar in sluaiged sin. Et o ra h-orned ⁶ tra ⁷ co honorach and-sin Tiodomus in n-inad Ampiarus ro eirig co subach in sacairt sin 7 do rigni idbarta 7 admolta les a n-onoir ⁸ na bande ⁸ *terra* .i. an talman, ar bithin na ⁹ dian-sesiled 7 na ¹⁰ dluiged fo Grecaib amail do rigne ba ¹¹ Ampiarus. Acus ¹² do rondad dno ¹³ leo idbarta 7

Fol. 18b 1. adnucul onorach 7 cluichi caintechna d' Ampiarus.

Acus o thairnig sin ro erigedar badba bel-derga bruth-mara 7 irdemna aduathmara ichtair ifirn co cathraig na Tiabanda da aslach 7 da furail forru comergi d'indsaiged na ¹⁴ n. Grec. Acus is bec na ro srainit aes ¹⁵ a sludraigib tigi na Tibi re trethan 7 re tendscedul na Tiabanda and sin a comergi in n-oen fhecht dar vii n-doirrsib delithi arda ur-aibhni na cathrach comdaingni re gresacht na m-badb m-buaidirthi sin oru.

Acus ¹⁶ is amlaid do chuadar a mach .i. Ro gres ¹⁷ imorro Crson croda curata a buidin dar in dorus n-ard ¹⁸ solus-glan dan-ad ainm Oegis, 7 tanic Ethiocles, ardri na Tiabanda, dar in dorus niamda n-alaind .i. Neistae nimorda ro bai fair. ¹⁹ Tanic Emon airsíd con a fur-rigib dar dorus Emolois chind leoman a comartha seic. Ro erig imorro Ipseius mac Asopus dar dorus primda Perdida delba dregon ²⁰ do rindad and seig. ²¹ Tanic Drias dasachtach .i. ri Tanagara o'n uarda ²² oigretaig con a dirmaib ²³ deag-sluaig dar dorus alaind

¹ conni.

⁶ omits.

⁹ nach.

¹³ MS. 1. Eg. omits.

¹⁷ Eg. adds imorro.

²¹ sidheic.

² omits.

⁶ h-ororaigéd.

¹⁰ nach.

¹⁴ omits.

¹⁸ n. allata.

²² fuardha.

³ denum.

⁷ omits.

¹¹ fa.

¹⁶ as.

¹⁹ furri.

²³ dirmonaib.

⁴ Titodorus.

⁸⁻⁸ nam bainndei.

¹² omits.

¹⁶ omits.

²⁰ dragon.

the great exhaustion of the fight slept, he could not, listening to the Thebans' shouts of merriment and hilarity during the night; for this was a matter of grave concern to him.

But when day with its full light came on the morrow the Greeks held meeting and council to decide who should rule in the room of Amphiaraus and in his stead instruct them by prophecy and learning. The man selected to fill his place was the learned seer Thiodamus son of Melampus; the same Melampus who jointly with Amphiaraus had prophesied for the Greeks before they had come on this expedition. Now when Thiodamus was with all ceremony installed in the office of Amphiaraus that priest rose joyously and offered sacrifices and praise in honour of *Terra*, i.e. the earth, inasmuch as it had not opened up and parted asunder under the Greeks as it did under Amphiaraus. They made also sacrifices and honourable burial and held funeral games in memory of Amphiaraus.

When these ceremonies were concluded the red-lipped, fiery furies and the dreadful demons of lowest hell went to the city of the Thebans to urge and entreat them to rush forth and attack the Greeks. The walls of Thebes were wellnigh wrenched from their foundations by the rush and onset of the Thebans as they sallied forth at the same time through the seven noble, high, magnificent gates of that very strong city at the instigation of these terrible furies. In this order they marched out. The brave, valorous Creon led his troops through the high, bright gate named Ogygus; Etiocles the high King of the Thebans marched through the shining, beautiful gate Neitae with its gleam of gold; Haemon the veteran with his dependent princes passed through the gate Homoloides crested with heads of lions; Hypseus, son of Asopus, went by the old gate Proetides, carved with figures of dragons it was; the furious Dryas, King of Tanagra, from the icy Uarda, with his swarms of stout troops, went forth through the beautiful gate Electrae, it was decorated with figures of serpents; Eurymedon with

Elechtra,¹ nathracha ro fursannait and side. Tanic² Ewinedon con a munter mor-menmnaig dar dorus n-ilbree denad anim Ipsitas, delba loiscend³ batar and side.⁴ Tanic dno⁵ in milid mor menmnach Menidcheus dar dorus n-daingin Dírse, delba buthfad badar and side.⁶

Nir ba suaill am⁷ in ní ris ba samalta comergi in t-(s)luaig sin ac facbail na cathrach .i. re fuaim 7 re fothrand na fairrgi fondglaisi co orithnaig 7 co comgluais in cruindi comfhairsing re treathan na tonn ac triall tar trachtaib in talman.

Dala na n-Grec imorro. Ro ergedar co malla⁸ mertnech do chum in chatha in la sin, 7 ro iadsad anm sin munter Ampiarus im Tiodomas mac Menelapus,⁹ co ro b'e in sechtmad ri do Grecaib in la sin is in cath. Is and sin ro orduich gach ri dib sin a trein¹⁰ 7 a thaisich inna fiadnaisi fri comruc 7 cathugud dar a cend. Mairg am¹¹ do Grecaib 7 do Tiabandaib¹¹ da tanic in la sin,¹² uair ro facbaid airechta gan urrigu dib¹³ 7 tuatha cen taisichu 7 bailada¹⁴ gen brugugu 7 caithbarr¹⁵ (c)hoaemu cen curadu 7 airm gen fiadnu 7 carbaid cen comarbada¹⁶ da comergi don gleo garb tren in lae sin.

¹ Elecetra.² Eg. adds ann.³ bathfadh.⁴ omits.⁵ MS. I.⁶ omits.⁷ Eg. adds ann.⁸ mall.⁹ Melampus.¹⁰ treoin.¹¹⁻¹¹ omits.¹² Eg. adds ac Grecidh.¹³ omits.¹⁴ bailte.¹⁵ cathbhairr.¹⁶ comarba.

his high-spirited followers passed through the speckled gate named Hypsistas, figures of toads embellished it; and finally Menoecus, the great, courageous warrior, tramped through the strong gate Dircaca, carved with figures of bitterns. The rush of the hosts as they left the city might indeed be with truth compared to the sound and roar of the green, surfaced sea as it shakes and moves the spacious globe by the thunder of its waves as they dash on the strands of the earth.

With respect to the Greeks, they, on the other hand, marched to battle on that day slowly, reluctantly. Amphiarus's troops attached themselves to Thiodamus son of Melampus, who was thus one of the seven Grecian kings in the battle that day. Then each king of these marshalled his champions and chiefs in his presence to fight and battle at their head. The coming of that day was in truth a cause of woe to Greeks and Thebans alike, for there were left three multitudes without chiefs to head them and tribes without leaders and towns without yeomen and fair helmets without champions' (heads to fill them) and weapons without masters and chariots without charioteers to drive them, as the result of the mighty, fierce conflict fought on that day.

COMÓRTAS AOISE IDIR CEATHAR SEANÓIRÍ,
PRÉACHÁN GEARR ACLA, IOLAR MÓR LEIC-
NA-BHFAOL, BREAC CAOCH AN EASA RU Aidh,
AGUS AN CHAILLEACH BHÉARACH.

DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D.

I N-OILEÁN Acla do chómhnuigh an Préachán. Níor thaitigh sé i gcoill i gcrann ná i dtom ; acht i sean-cheardcha. Do chaith sé a shaoghal gach oidhche insan mbliadhain, agus gach bliadhain d'á ré 'na luidhe ar an inneóin. Agus mar is gnáth le h-éanlaith go coitchionn a ngob do chumailt anois agus arís do cebé nidh is fuisge dóibh, thugadh an préachán cor-chumailt, anois agus arís, d'ághob ar adharc na h-inneóine. Ar deireadh thiar thall, bhí an adharc chomh caol agus chomh caiththe le snáthaid mhóir ó'n t-síor-chumailt !

Thárla, oidhche airighthe, stoirm mhór le sneachta agus sioc agus le gaoith an-tréin. Fuaidigheadh na cleitheacha de 'n cheardcha, agus d'imthigh clúmh agus cleiteacha an phréacháin in a gcuideachta. Bhí an préachán bocht chomh lom-nocht ar maidin d'éis na h-oidhche milltighe seo, gan cleite ná clúmh ar a cholainn, agus da sgalthaí é le h-uisge fiuchtha.

An trath shoillsigh solas an laé bhí ciúnas agus suaimhneas ar aghaidh na cruinne, acht bhí droch-mhisneach ar an bpréachán agus bhi eagla air ionnsuidhe amach, toisg an íde dhona thárla dhó. 'O !' ar sé, leis féin, 'is fada ar an tsaoghal mé, agus níor mhothaigh mé aon oidhche eile chomh doineanta leis an oidhche aréir. Is é mo bhar-amhail féin nach bhfuil feithide ar bith insan domhan go h-uile níos sine 'ná mé féin, mara bhfuil Iolar mór Leic-na-bhfaol níos sine, agus tá mé i n-amhras gur sine an t-iolar. Ar an ádhbhar soin rachad fá n-a dhéin chum fios d'fhághail uaidh ar mhothaigh sé oidhche ar bith ariamh chomh fuar agus chomh dona leis an oidhche aréir.'

An trath do mhothaigh an préachán soillse agus teas na gréine, sgeinn sé amach ar inntinn triall go dtí an t-Iolar. Bhí sé ag imtheacht agus ag síor-imtheact go dtáinig go nead an Iolair.

‘Arú!’ ar san t-Iolar, ‘a Phréacháin a chroidhe, cad é thárla dhuit, no cé ndeachaidh do chlúmh agus do chuid cleiteach?’

‘O! na fiafruigh sin díom,’ ars an Préachán, ‘nár mhothaigh tu féin fuacht agus doineann na h-oidhche aréir?’

‘Níor mhothaigh mé dionóg [?] de’n gharbh-shíon sin air a dtráchtann tu,’ ars an t-Iolar.

‘Maiseadh ba throm í do shuan mar sin,’ ars an Préachán, ‘níor mhothaigh mé féin aon oidhche eile riamh a bhí leath chomh millteach léi, agus atá a rian orm. Thainigeas fá do dhéin-se chun fios d’fhághail uait an dtáinig oidhche ar chor ar bith le do linn-se níos fuaire ’ná í. Mar mheasas go raibh tú níos sine ’ná mé féin.’

‘Níl bun-úghdar ná dáta ar bith agam-sa le m’aois ar an t-Iolar, ‘agus dá mbéadh féin atá mé lán-chinnté go bhfuil feithide eile a mhaireas ar an tsaoghal so fós, ann, atá go mór níos sine ’ná mise.

‘Cia hé féin?’ ars an Préachán.

‘Atá Breac Caoch an Easa Ruaidh,’ ars an t-Iolar, ‘mar sin, téidh go dtí é go bhfuighe tu réidhteach do cheiste uaidh.’

D’imthigh an Préachán agus níor mhór-chómhnaigh sé go ndeachaidh sé fá dhéin an Bhric.

‘Cad é thárla, dhuit a Phréacháin ghearr?’ ar san Breac.

D’innis sé an sgéal don Bhreac mar atá roimh-ráidhte, ‘agus atá mé ar tí fios d’fhághail uait-se, an dtáinig aon oidhche ariamh chomh fuar leis an oidhche aréir.’

‘Tháinig, agus míle uair níos fuaire,’ ars an Breac.

‘Is olc a chreidfinn thú,’ ars an Préachán.

‘Maiseadh! mara gcreidfir mé,’ ars an Breac, ‘téidh fá dhéin úghdair is sine ’ná mise.’

‘Cia hé sin,’ ars an Préachán.

‘Atá an chailleach Bhéarach,’ ars an Breac.

Rachad go dtí í, ’ars an Préachán.

‘Stad go fóill,’ ars an Breac, ‘go n-innsidh mise mo sgéal féin duit. Bhí mé ag snámh ar uachtar an phoill seo, trathnóna breágh ciúin, chomh ciúin agus chomh caomh le h-oidhche ar bith a mhothaigh mé ariamh. Bhí an iomad míoltógai ag eitioll ins an aér os cionn an phoill. Léim mé suas le lán mo bhéil aca do ghabháil, sul shroicheas an t-uisge arís, bhí leac oisthre ar an uisge. Bhí mé ann ag léimnigh agus ag baoth-léimnigh ar an leic go dtáinig an fiach dubh agus phioc sé na súile as mo cheann. Thoisigh mo chuid fola ag rith chomh tiugh agus do thiucfadh sí as sgornach mairt. Bhí mé ann sin gur leagh teas na fola an leac tríd síos. Sin, agad, an bealach ar éirigh liom féin an t-uisge a rochtain. Ba í sin an oidhche do b’fhuaire a mhothaigh mé féin ariamh, agus sin an nós ar chailleas mo radhare. Fairíor géar cráidhte! Ní dhéanfaidh mé dearmad air sin go h-éag.’

Ní raibh inntinn an Phréacháin socair fós. ‘Slán leat a Bhric,’ ar sé.

‘Go n-éirighidh do thuras leat, a Phréacháin,’ ars an Breac, ‘ná bíodh eagla ort go mothóchaidh tú caill no riachtanas i dtigh na caillighe!’

D’imthigh an Préachán, agus níor stad agus níor mhór-chómhnaigh sé go dtáinig go tigh na caillighe.

‘Sé do bheatha, a Phréacháin as Acaill,’ ar sí, ‘cad é thárla dhuit, no cá bhfuil do chlúmh agus do chleití?’

‘Imthighthe leis an ghaoith mhóir,’ ar sé. D’innis sé dí an chúis o thús go críoch, agus d’fhiafruigh sé de ’n chailligh ar mhothaigh sí oidhche ar bith ariamh chomh fuar leis an oidhche aréir.

‘Maiseadh’! ar sí, ‘mhothaigh mé creathadh beag fuachta i dtús na h-oidhche, acht chuireas clúdadh maith trom orm féin, agus os a chionn sin tharraing mé paca olla a raibh naoi gcéad de mheadhachain ann, agus creid-se mise nár mhothaigheas mórán de’n fhuacht, óir bhí mé ag cur móineogaí aluis arís go maidin.’

[‘Cad é an aois thu?’ ars an Préachán.]

Níl dáta ná bun-ughdar cinnte agam-sa le m’ aois,’ ars an chailleach, ‘acht so amháin. Lá mo ghineamhna, gach bliadhain, gur mharbh m’ athair mart, in-onóir do’n lá sin, chomh fad agus mhair sé, agus leanas féin don ghnás sin o shin anuas. Atá na h-adharca go h-uile ar an lota sin shiar, i n-éadain an sgiobóil. Cuirfidh mé an buachaill d’á n-áireamh duit amárach, agus congthaigh féin cunntas orra.’

Le h-eirighe an laé chuaidh an giolla ag áireamh. Chaith sé lá agus bliadhain leis an gnódh sin agus ní raibh coirnéal de’n lota falamh. Agus i gcaitheamh na h-aimsire sin ní raibh tart a’s ocras i dteannta a chéile ar an bPréachán. Acht mar sin féin d’éirigh sé tuirseach de’n chunntas, agus sgeinn sé amach, agus é ’g á rádh ‘a chailleach, bheirim an chraobh duit, tá tú chomh sean leis an tsean-mháthair mhóir fad ó, a d’ith na hubhla. Slán leat.’

Nár mhaith an díoluigheacht é sin ar son cothughadh bliadhna!

[*Micheál Seóighe, ó Pholl-na-braiche, Clár cloinne Mhuiris, i gcondae Mhuighe-Eó i n-Éirinn, d’innis an sgéal so, timchioll dhá bhliadhuin déag ó shoin.*]

THE SAXONES IN THE *EXCIDIVM BRITTANIAE* ¹

REV. A. W. WADE-EVANS

WE have seen that it is believed by the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* that the whole island of Britain, that is to say, the whole of Scotland as well as of England and Wales, was held by the Brittani under Roman rule; and

¹ The above article is to be read in conjunction with those entitled ‘The *Romani* in the *Excidium Britanniae*’ and ‘The *Picti* and *Scotti* in the *Excidium Britanniae*’ which appeared in the *Celtic Review* for August 1913 (pp. 35-41) and April 1914 (pp. 314-323). In these three articles the facts are submitted to a fresh examination, so that everything previously written by me on this subject should be checked by reference to this new series of essays. Also every prior essay should be checked by reference to a later.

that the northern portion, the defence of which had been abandoned between 383 and 407, was seized in the latter year as far south as the Wall of Hadrian by Picti and Scotti, whilst the last Roman troops were leaving Britain for ever. The Picti and Scotti then proceeded at once to break down the feeble defence of the Wall, and to ravage and occupy southern Britain from end to end. This they continued to do until after A.D. 446, when they met with their first decisive check at the hands of the citizens and withdrew, the Scotti to their native Ireland and the Picti to colonise northern Scotland for the first time. Thus terminated the third devastation of Britain by the above two nations, which lasted at least forty years from A.D. 407.

There follows now an interval, during which the Brittani became more affluent and luxurious than ever before in their history. The Scotti had withdrawn altogether to their native Ireland. The Picti were busy *in extrema parte insulae*, in the extreme part of the island, settling down for the first time. What is meant by 'the extreme part of the island' may be gathered from Bede (*H.E.*, I. 1, 12), who locates the Picti to the north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth; and from the *Historia Brittonum*, c. 12, which states that the Picti came from the Orkney Islands and occupied many districts in the north of Britain, where they remained 'to this day holding a third part' of the island. What we are to understand, therefore, is that in the interval following the third devastation of Britain by the Picti and Scotti, the Picti had retired to the north of Scotland beyond the Firths of Clyde and Forth, the Scotti had retired altogether, whilst the Brittani once more held Britain right up to about the Wall of Antonine. In this interval not only were they masters of England and Wales *but also of the south of Scotland*.¹

¹ I wish to emphasise this point, as I have previously argued that the *Excidium Britanniae* knew nothing of the Brittani of Strathclyde. For instance, in the *Celtic Review*, viii. 254, I should have said that what the *Excidium Britanniae* teaches is that there was a retirement of Britons from northern Scotland in favour of the Picts, and then that there was a retirement of Britons from Britain, south of the Firth of

The interval was brought to an end by a fresh arrival of Picti and Scotti for a fourth devastation, of which unfortunately no particulars are given. At the same time there fell upon the citizens a famous plague,¹ which laid low so many of them that the living were unable to bury the dead.

Then it was that a *consilium*, an assembly, was held to decide as to ways and means of checking the irruptions of Picti and Scotti, in which assembly it was resolved by *omnes consiliarii*, all the members, *una cum superbo tyranno*, together with the proud tyrant, that the Saxones should be called into the island.

It is clear, therefore, that according to the *Excidium Britanniae* the Saxones were invited into the island some interval after A.D. 446 and that no small one. What was the year of their coming? It is generally assumed to have been the year favoured by Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle*, to wit, in or about 449, in which case the interval between the despatch of the Letter to Aetius in 446 and the first admittance of the Saxones into the island would be the extremely short one of about three years. Our author, however, postulates an interval much longer.

Moreover, although the Picti and Scotti are made to ravage Britain thrice between 383 and after 446, it is remarkable that the Picti are made to remain only in the north of Scotland, whilst the Scotti are not made to remain at all, but to return to Ireland. Our author, therefore,

Forth, into Strathclyde, Wales, and the Devonian peninsula owing to the pressure of the English. The English may have landed at any point from about the Hampshire coast to the Firth of Forth, but not beyond this, for the Picts were in possession of 'the extreme part of the island.'

¹ The *famosa pestis*, famous pestilence, which afflicted the Britanni simultaneously with the fourth arrival of the Picti and Scotti, can only refer to the *magna mortalitas*, the great mortality, which carried off Maelgwn Gwynedd, the *Maglocunus* of the *Epistola Gildae*, ch. 33 (*Celtic Review*, ix. 321, n. 2). That Maelgwn Gwynedd must have flourished sometime about the early sixth century is proved by the fact that his descendant and successor in the *fifth* generation, to wit, Cadwallon, the ally of Penda of Mercia, perished at Rowley Water in 634.

It should be carefully observed what this means. *It means that the Epistola Gildae was written before the Saxon Advent mentioned in the Excidium Britanniae.*

could not have supposed any Scotti to have occupied Britain permanently until no small interval after A.D. 446; and as the traditional date for such permanent settlements of Scotti is 496 or 502 when the Dalriad Scots came over under Fergus mac Erc, it may be that our author's fourth devastation of Britain by Picti and Scotti refers, either wholly or partly, to this migration, in which case the first admission of the Saxones, called in to check the fourth devastation, must have occurred about the early sixth century.

The Saxones were not unknown to the Brittani, for we are informed in chapter xviii. that the Roman troops, just before they left Britain for ever in A.D. 407, erected towers at stated intervals on the sea-coast towards the south, overlooking the ocean, because from that quarter also, as well as from the north and north-west, wild barbarian hordes were feared. These towers, of course, refer to the line of forts built along the Saxon shore from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, some of which, it should be stated, existed before the time of Constantius Chlorus, and all of them before his death in A.D. 306. Again, in chapter xxiii., the Saxones, before they are made to land for the first time, are described as people whom, when absent, the Brittani feared more than death, which indicates that the Brittani had already gained some experience of them before they invited them into their country as 'under the cover of one roof.'

The first of the Saxones who landed came *tribus, ut lingua ejus exprimitur cyulis, nostra longis, navibus*, in three ships, *cyulae*, keels, as it is expressed in their language, *longae*, llongeu,¹ in ours. There were omens and divinations, wherein it was foretold, the prognostic being much credited amongst them, that they should occupy the land, towards which they directed the prows of their ships, for three hundred years, during one-half of which, that is, one

¹ *Llong*, pl., *llongau* (now written *llongau*), from the Latin *long(a navis)*, is the Welsh for a ship.

hundred and fifty years, they should devastate frequently. Nothing is said as to what was to happen during the second half, but it is clearly implied that it was to be a period of peace as the first was a period of war.

Now when the *Excidium Britanniae* was being written, the three hundred years were far from completion, because Bede quoted largely from it and Bede died in 735. There had elapsed, however, as we shall see lower down, forty-three years of the period of peace, which means that the *Excidium Britanniae* was written 150 *plus* 43, that is, one hundred and ninety-three years after the Saxon Advent. And as the Saxon Advent did not occur until a lengthy interval after A.D. 446, it follows that our author was writing about the commencement of the eighth century. *In other words he was writing in Bede's own lifetime.*

The Saxones landed at the direction of the unlucky tyrant *in orientali parte*, in the eastern portion of the island,¹ and, their enterprise having been so far successful, were joined by others of their fellows from the same quarter. As auxiliaries about to fight on behalf of the citizens against the northern invaders, they had provisions supplied them every month. After a while they pretended that these supplies were insufficient, on which pretext they broke the treaty and forthwith began to devastate the island.

In chapters xxiv. and xxv. an account is given of the havoc caused by the Saxones after they had broken the treaty. 'The eastern band of sacrilegists,' as he calls them, carried destruction from the eastern part of the

¹ This does not necessarily signify the east coast, but some point in the eastern portion of the island, capable of being reached by sea, that is to say, some point either along the coast or upstream from the Firth of Forth to Hampshire or thereabouts. I say the Firth of Forth, because he has told us that northern Scotland no longer belonged to the citizens but to Pictish colonists; and Hampshire because a line from the Hampshire coast towards the Firth of Forth fairly divides 'the eastern portion of the island' still in the possession of the Britanni from the western portion. No definite indication is given as to the actual place of landing, but it may be that his previous reference to the forts of the Saxon Shore *ad meridianam plagam*, towards the south, where English invaders were feared, points to the south of England rather than to the north as the spot where he supposed them to have disembarked.

island, where they had first landed, to the west, *de mare usque ad mare*, from sea to sea, devastating *civitates agrosque*, town and country, without ceasing, without receiving any check, until *cunctam paene insulae superficiem*, almost the whole surface of the island had been destroyed as far as *occidentalem oceanum*, the Western Ocean. All the *coloniae*, by which he clearly refers to inhabited centres, if not to the *coloniae* properly so called, namely, York, Lincoln, Colchester, and Gloucester, were overthrown by means of battering-rams, and all their inhabitants given up to fire and sword. Bishops, priests, and people equally perished. In the middle of streets were to be seen the bottom stones of towers and high walls thrown down together with sacred altars. ‘There was no sepulture of any kind save the ruins of houses and the bellies of beasts and birds.’

Of the remnant of the citizens, who survived this westwards sweeping slaughter, some were caught and slain on the mountains, whither they had fled from the lowlands; others were compelled by hunger to yield themselves to life-long slavery, if indeed they were not instantly destroyed; others again fled across the sea to foreign parts, which doubtless refers to Brittany or at least includes it; whilst those who persisted in remaining in the island alive and free, betook themselves *montanis, collibus minacibus, prae-ruptis vallatis, et densissimis saltibus, marinisque rupibus*, to mountainous regions, overhanging hills and fortified crags, to dense forests and to rocks of the sea. This must mean south-western Britain from Strathclyde to the Devonian peninsula; and so we are to understand that just as Picti had expelled the citizens from the north of Britain, beyond the Firths of Clyde and Forth, so now the Saxones ousted them, not indeed from all but from almost all southern Britain, from the eastern portion of the island to the Western Ocean, from sea to sea.

The citizens, who remained free in Britain, were cooped up among the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west, where after a certain length of time the Saxones left

them and returned home ¹ to the new lands which they had thus acquired. No reason is given why the Saxones did not complete their work and seize the whole of South Britain instead of almost the whole, only that they returned home leaving the wretched residue of the Brittani among the mountains.

To these Brittani there was now only one hope left, that of saving themselves from utter extermination, and to this end they flock together under the leadership of the one solitary Roman who had chanced to survive the storm, his parents having perished in the carnage, namely Ambrosius Aurelianus, a man of unassuming character and of a family which, our author doubts not, had worn the purple. Under this person the citizens won their first victory over the Saxones. Not a word, however, is said of the Brittani recovering lost ground. In winning a victory under Ambrosius they only accomplished the one purpose which they had in view, that is, the saving of themselves from complete annihilation.

According to our author, then, the Brittani, no small

¹ Although the prophecy states that the Saxones were for three hundred years to sit on the land, which they were approaching in their keels, yet the phrase *cum recessissent domum*, when they had returned home, should signify when they had returned to their home *beyond the sea*. It is clear, however, that it refers to their home in South Britain. What are we to understand by that home? Dr. Hugh Williams states (*Gildas*, p. 60, n. 1) that *domum* 'can only mean the place assigned to them by treaty in Britain.' In this case we have to suppose that the Saxon auxiliaries, after having denuded South Britain of its inhabitants even to the Western Ocean, yet elected to return to the military quarters which those very inhabitants had assigned them in the first instance. But the whole of that country, from which the Brittani were expelled, had now become Saxon. Not a word is said of citizens, who had retreated to the highlands of the west, returning to settle in the lowlands or recovering any lost ground. Indeed, we are distinctly told that the sole object of the success achieved by the Brittani under Ambrosius Aurelianus was merely to save themselves from complete destruction, *ne ad internicionem usque deleerentur*. Southern Britain, from sea to sea, was now the home of the Saxones; only the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west were left to the citizens. And so it was to that new home that we must understand the Saxones to have retired.

But the phrase *recedere domum* so ill fits the occasion as described by our author, that like *transmarini*, as applied by him to the Picti, it is doubtless borrowed from an older setting, where its application was more apposite, and of course more historical.

interval after A.D. 446, were swept completely out of the plains of southern Britain, as the result of a rebellion of Saxon auxiliaries assisted by others from their original home beyond the sea, who did not cease slaughtering or expelling the citizens and devastating both town and country until they had reached the Western Ocean and driven all the Brittani, who preferred freedom and independence in the island, to the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west. We are asked to believe that the Saxones did not pause in their work of destruction 'from sea to sea,' or receive a single check until the citizens were actually shut up among the mountains of western Britain from Strathclyde to the Devonian peninsula. Incredible as it may appear, the text implies that all this was done as the result of one great rush, so swift and irresistible that the Brittani had no time or opportunity to rally. It was only when the Saxones returned to the plains of the east, which were now for the first time Saxon ground, that the citizens recovered from their panic and took heart under Ambrosius Aurelianus; one hope alone possessed them, to wit, that of saving themselves from total extinction; and this hope they ultimately realised by winning their first belated victory.

But the devastations of the Saxones did not cease—they were not to cease for one hundred and fifty years from the time of landing; only the success of Ambrosius saved the citizens from complete annihilation, marking a turn in the course of events. The Saxones in their grand rush from sea to sea had driven the citizens into the west, but now the citizens began to win victories from time to time, and so stem Saxon aggression; and these occasional victories continued until the one hundred and fifty years of fighting terminated with the siege of the Badonic Hill, when the Saxones suffered a severe defeat, and there commenced a period of peace, which had already lasted over forty-three years when the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* was writing. The exact words are as follows: *ex eo tempore*,

from that time, that is from the victory of Ambrosius, *nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant*, now the citizens and now the enemy were victorious. And this continued *usque ad annum obsessionis Badonici montis, novissimaeque ferme de furciferis non minimae stragis, quique quadragesimus quartus, ut novi, orditur annus, mense iam emenso, qui et meae nativitatis est*, up to the year of the obsession of the Badonic Hill and of almost the last and not the least slaughter inflicted on the gallows-rogues, which is the beginning of the forty-fourth year, as I know, one month having already elapsed, which also is the year of my own nativity. This means that the *Excidium Britanniae* was written 150 *plus* 43, or one hundred and ninety-three years from the Saxon Advent; and as the Saxon Advent did not occur until no small interval after A.D. 446, it follows that the *Excidium Britanniae* was not written until about the beginning of the eighth century, its author being at the time in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Much as has been written on the above words, they are really quite simple. It is the attempt to square them with a supposed Gildasian authorship of the *Excidium Britanniae* 'about A.D. 540' which makes them difficult. Bede seems to have been the first to do this, who, ignoring the fact that the Badonic Hill terminated a century and a half of strife and commenced another predicted century and a half of peace, of which forty-three years were already gone, misread 'the forty-fourth year'¹ as meaning the forty-fourth from the Saxon Advent!

¹ Generations of readers of the *Excidium Britanniae* have puzzled their heads as to what its author meant by 'the 44th year.' It was Archbishop Ussher, who in modern times discovered the true meaning. Ussher correctly read the words as indicating that the Badonic Hill was won the forty-fourth year backwards from that in which the author was writing, a fact of which the author assures us he was quite certain, inasmuch as he himself was born that year. This is confirmed by what he further tells us, that a whole generation had already passed away since the victory. [I should like to say here that I have abandoned the view expressed by me in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1911, p. 182, and in *Y Cymmrodor*, xxii. 138, that this passage as to the forty-fourth year is a gloss incorporated into the text of the *Excidium Britanniae*.]

But Ussher failed to see why the author took such pains to provide his contemporaries with this very precise calculation, nor to my knowledge has any one else

We have seen that the author is very explicit as to the fate of those Brittani, whom he supposes to have inhabited south-eastern Britain till about the early sixth century. All in the *coloniae* were destroyed. Of the rest, some were killed in heaps on the mountains; some surrendered themselves to become slaves for ever, if indeed they were not instantly slain; some fled over sea to foreign shores; whilst those who elected to remain alive and free retreated to the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west. Nothing could be more explicit than this. The *Excidium Britanniae* is the first advocate, first in time and importance, of the theory of 'the total extermination of the Britons' in south-eastern Britain. With the exception of such as submitted to become slaves (and even these, he tells us, may have been slaughtered instead), the Brittani were either totally destroyed or swept out of the English and Scottish lowlands from the eastern portion of the island to the Western Ocean, from sea to sea.

Such a statement as this can only mean the complete conquest of southern Britain from sea to sea, with the exception of the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west. As indeed we would expect, seeing that since A.D. 446 there had elapsed no small interval *plus* 193 years, our author is living and writing about the beginning of the eighth century, at a period when we know as a matter of sober history that the Saxones, by whom he means the

perceived the point, which is this. To him the Badonic Hill meant not only the end of the one hundred and fifty years of Saxon aggression but also the commencement of the one hundred and fifty years of peace, which according to prophecy were to terminate with no less an issue than the English evacuation of the island. Of these one hundred and fifty years of peace the forty-fourth had already been attained, and he was quite sure about this because it was his own age.

But alas! for the right understanding of the *Excidium Britanniae*, the Venerable Bede (*H.E.*, i. 16) misread 'the 44th year' as meaning about forty-four years from the Saxon Advent, which he fixed about A.D. 449. Hence sprang the horde of fancies that the Badonic Hill was fought towards the close of the fifth century, that it must have been won by Arthur, that it brought about a half-time break in an 'Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain,' that the *Excidium Britanniae* was written in this half-time break, and that its author was Gildas, the same who had written the *Epistola Gildae*.

English generally,¹ are occupying southern Britain from the German Ocean to the Irish Sea and the Bristol Channel,² and had been so occupying it from before the memory of any one of his contemporaries. He is living at a time when organised states of the Brittani are to be found in Strathclyde, Wales, and the Devonian peninsula. It is his theory

¹ It is to be observed that the southern invaders of Britain are always called Saxones by our author. He makes no distinction between Angles, Saxons, and Jutes; to him they are all Saxones, that is, the English generally, or, as we would call them in Welsh, *Saeson*. As Ireland is inhabited by *Scotti*, and the extreme north of Britain by *Picti*, so southern Britain (excepting the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west) is held by *Saxones*. The mountains, forests, and sea-islands of south-west Britain are all now left to the remnants of the Brittani.

² The Saxons must have been in occupation of the coast of the Severn Sea as early as A.D. 577 when, as the result of the Battle of Dyrham in modern Gloucestershire, they captured the three ancient Roman towns of Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, the first of which was a *colonia*.

But that the Saxones had reached the neighbourhood of the Severn estuary much earlier than this is proved from the *Book of Llan Dâu*, 123, 133, 141. In the days of King Iddon ab Ynyr Gwent, a contemporary of St. Teilo, who himself was a contemporary of St. David (born A.D. 462), the Saxones crossed the R. Wye to plunder. And again in the time of Bishop Oudoceus, the successor and nephew of St. Teilo, the Saxones ravaged South Wales, and especially that part of modern Herefordshire which is west of the R. Wye. Moreover in the time of the same Oudoceus, King Teudiric fell whilst fighting against the Saxones at the ford of Tintern on the R. Wye in modern Monmouthshire.

Again, when St. Gildas, two centuries before the appearance of the *Excidium Britanniae*, was writing the *Epistola Gildae* to the kings and priests of Britannia, his Britannia is clearly Wales and the Devonian peninsula only. The five kings whom he mentions by name are Constantine of Devon, Aurelius Caninus of Cornwall, who is no other than Cynvor or Cynin ab Tudwal Bevr (the 'King Mark' of romance), Voteporix of Dyved or S.-W. Wales, Cynlas of Rhos in modern Denbighshire, and last but not least Maelgwn Gwynedd, the dragon of the island of Anglesey. As Gildas omits all personal reference to the princes of S.-E. Wales, it looks as though he were writing in that quarter. Thus the supposed retreat of the Brittani out of the lowlands of England into the highlands of Wales and the Devonian peninsula had occurred at least two centuries before the *Excidium Britanniae* was written. Nay, it had occurred before ever the Saxones were invited for the first time into the island!

As for the coast of the Irish Sea, there is no evidence forthcoming, notwithstanding all the dogmatism of our history books, standard and otherwise, that there were any Brittani in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries connecting those of Wales with those of Strathclyde. Late Glamorganshire legends (see *Iolo Manuscripts*, 86) ascribe the name of Teyrnllwg to a supposed British state lying apparently between the R. Dee and the R. Derwent in Cumberland. But Teyrnllwg is nothing more than a name faked from Catel *Durnluc*, i.e. Cadell Ddyrnllug or the Blackfisted, the king who founded the royal line of the Welsh kingdom of Powys. We know that King Egfrith of Northumbria (670-685) gave St. Cuthbert a grant of Cartmel in Furness with all its

that these Brittani had been driven into these western corners by the Saxones, who did not arrive in Britain before the beginning of the sixth century, who thereupon destroyed the civilisation of Roman Britain (or such of it as was left) from the eastern lowlands to the Western Ocean, and denuded the province completely of all its

Brittani, which shows that there were Brittani, north of Morecambe Bay. We know also from Eddi's *Life of Wilfred*, ch. 17, that Wilfred claimed for his see of York *ea loca sancta in diversis regionibus, quae clerus Brytannus aciem gladii hostilis manu gentis nostrae fugiens deseruit*, those holy places in various districts which the British clergy abandoned in their flight from the hostile swords of our nation. These places, in so far as they have been identified, appear to extend from Cumberland towards the upper reaches of the R. Ribble and onwards in the direction of the old British kingdom of Elmet which lay around Leeds. But that Strathclyde once extended from the R. Clyde to the Mersey or Dee, or that there was a British state on the Lancashire coast connecting the northern Britons with those of Wales, I can find no evidence. Prof. J. E. Lloyd in his *History of Wales*, 183, speaking of King Ethelfrith of Northumbria, says: 'Attacking the British Kingdom of Elmet, or Elfed, as it would now be written, which lay around our Leeds, he completely subdued it and drove King Ceredig from his throne. *By this conquest the chief barrier which parted Deira from the Irish Sea was removed, and very shortly afterwards Edwin must have effected that breach between the Cymry of the North and those of Wales which the battle of Chester [616-17] foreshadowed but did not actually bring about.*' The words I have italicized are quite gratuitous, as there is no evidence forthcoming for any British kingdom such as Elmet on the Lancashire coast at the time indicated, or indeed any terrene connection between the Brittani of Wales and those of the north. The British kingdom of Elmet may have been formed by northern Brittani pushing south-eastwards towards the Humber, as many of those of Wales were formed by northern Brittani pushing southwards over the Irish Sea.

The connection between the Brittani of Wales and those of the north was maritime, and herein lies the truth of the statement that the Picti came over the sea to Britannia from the north. The north was Scotland, the sea they crossed in their coracles was the Irish Sea, the Britannia they landed in was not the island of Britain but the Britannia which we now know as Wales, and the Picti were those familiar to us in Welsh literature by the name *gwyr y gogledd*, the men of the north, particularly Cunedda and his sons, who occupied Wales from the R. Dee to the R. Teivi and the R. Gwaun. In other words, the story in the *Excidium Britanniae* as to the transmarine Picti is a late, ignorant, and garbled account of the immigration into Wales in the fourth and fifth centuries of peoples from southern Scotland. Amongst these was Caw of Arglud (Arglud = on or opposite the Clud, that is, the Clyde, in modern Renfrewshire), who settled in the district of Twrcelyn in Anglesey, whence he is often styled Caw of Twrcelyn. He is also styled *Caw o Brydyn*, Caw of Pictland, *rex Scotiae*, a king of Scotia, *rex Albaniae* a king of Albania, and *rex Pictorum*, a king of the Picti. The latter is the nearest equivalent of the oldest name by which he is known in Welsh, namely, *Cau Pritdin*. This man was actually the father of St. Gildas to whom the *Excidium Britanniae* is commonly ascribed—a work which rails at the Picti as one of the three divinely appointed devastators of the Brittani.

original inhabitants, the above western corners alone excepted.

Now in order to determine with precision the time when he supposed the Saxones to have first landed in Britain in their three keels, no small interval after A.D. 446, our chief desideratum is to fix the year of the siege of the Badonic Hill. When this has been done, we shall also know the exact year of the writing of the *Excidium Britanniae*.

THE BISCAYAN VERB

EDWARD SPENCER DODGSON, M.A.

(Continued from page 174)

- Dedilla**, 71 (2), 79, 154. Imp. s. 3., aux. *Let it be!*
- Dedin**, 34, 135. Subj. pres. s. 3., aux., in the final sense, as if ending in *tzát*. (*So that it be*. On p. 34 the original has *dein*.)
- Dedinian**, 65, 152. I.q. *Dedin*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When it may be*.
- Derichazu**, 162. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s. (pl. in form) 2nd p., v. irr. pass. *erichi*. *Does it seem to you?*
- Derichon**, 194. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s., *N* rel. nom., v. irr. pass. *erichi*. *To which the-name-is-given, i.e. which is called*.
- Deuscu**, 75, 22 (2), 189, 190. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., dat. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *Has it to us*. On p. 22 it is printed *deuscu*. See Zabála, p. 76.
- Deuscubee**, 143. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *They have it to us*. See *Deuscubeenian*, *Deuscun*, *Deuscuna*.
- Deuseet**, 11. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *I have it to them*. (*Duseet* in 1816 is a misprint.)
- Deust**, 74, 163. (On p. 74 in 1816 they put *deuts*.) Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., dat. s. 1 p., aux. act. *Has it to me*.
- Deutsa**, 24, 59, 72, 147, 164. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *Has it to him or her*. Baskish pronouns 'common are to either sex.'
- Deutsala**, 128, 171. I.q. *Deutsa*, *la* conj. or participial. *That, or while he has it to him*.
- Deutsalaco**, 127. I.q. *Deutsa*, conj. with *co* adjectival in the pretextive sense. *On-the-ground-that he has it to him*. On p. 112 perhaps we ought to read this instead of *Deutseelaco*.

- Deutsa**, 12, 14, 62, 63, 72. I.q. *Deutsa*, *N* conj., ruled by *baino* (12) and *N* rel. acc. (14), dat. (62), loc. (63), act. (72). *That he has it to him ; (that) which he has to him ; (that) to which he has it ; in which she has it to it ; which has it to him.*
- Deutsana**, 51 (2). I.q. *Deutsan*, *N* conj., decl. nom. (*na=la*). *The-fact-that it has it to it.*
- Deutsanac**, 64, 98, 112, 194. I.q. *Deutsan*, *N* rel. act., decl. act. (*nac=he who*). *He who has it to him.* On p. 194 it ought to be *deutseenac*, as the subject of *Dakijala*, unless *Cristinaubai=Christianis* is a misprint for *Cristinaubari=Christiano*.
- Deutsanian**, 65 (2). I.q. *Deutsan*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian=when*). *When he has it to her.* In the first place this was misprinted *deutsanai* in the second edition, in 1904.
- Deutsanic**, 103. I.q. *Deutsan*, *N* rel. act., decl. indef. partitive (*nic=any one which*). *Any one which has it to him.*
- Deutzaz**, 114. I.q. *Deutsa*, but acc. pl. *Has them to her.* (Zabála, p. 76, where it appears that this form can also mean *has them to me* !)
- Deutsazala**, 65. I.q. *Deutsaz*, *A* euph., *la* conj. *That he has them to her.*
- Deutsazan**, 161. I.q. *Deutsaz*, *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. acc. (*Those*) *which he has to her.*
- Deutsazu**, 90. Ind. pres. pl. 2., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *You have it to it.*
- Deutsazun**, 130. I.q. *Deutsazu*, *N* conj. with *ceimbat*. *That you have it to it.* The dative is plural in sense, like 'many an one' in English ; unless it be a misprint of *deutsezun*.
- Deutsazuz**, 130. Ind. pl. 2., acc. pl., dat. s., aux. act. *Have you them to him ?* (Zabála, p. 76.)
- Deuscubeenian**, 207. I.q. *Deuscubee*, with *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian=when*), aux. act. *When they have it to us.*
- Deuscun**, 168. I.q. *Deuscu*, *N* conj., ruled by *leguez*. (*As*) *that it has it to us.*
- Deuscuna**, 42. I.q. *Deuscu*, *N* rel. s. acc., decl. nom., aux. act. (*na=that which*). *That which it has to us.*
- Deutsedan**, 3. I.q. *Deutseet*, i.e. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act., *DA* euph. for *T* before *N* rel. acc. s. (*That*) *which I have to them.*
- Deutsee** (a Triple Form),¹ 42, 54, 57, 59, 76, 82, 86, 88 (2), 94, 115, 127, 135 (2), 138, 145, 148, 149, 175, 176. On pp. 54, 57, 76, Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *They have it to him.* On pp. 59, 94, 175, 176, it is *He has it to them* ; with the third person of the singular number. On pp. 42, 82, 86, 88, 115, 127, 135, 138, 145, 148, 149, it means *They have it to them.*

¹ It must be admitted that the Forms of the Verb which have more than one meaning are not an advantage.

- Deutseedala**, 74. I.q. *Deutseet*, *DA* euph. for *T* before *la* conj. Cf. *Deutsedan*. *That I have it to them*.
- Deutseela**. I.q. *Deutsee*, with *la* conj. 78, 83, 98, 161, 193. *That he has it to them ; that they have it to him*. Notice the double sense of *Deutsee* in this Form. It has yet a third in that which follows. See p. 75 in *Zabála*. Is there confusion with *Deutsez*, *Deutseez* ?
- Deutseelaco**, 58 (2), 112. I.q. *Deutseela*, with the adjectival *co* in the pretextive sense. *On-the-ground-that they have it to them*. It appears on p. 112 to be a misprint for *Deutsalaco*, q.v., and the sense is *on-the-ground-that he has it to it*, with the active case singular.
- Deutseen**, 25, 60, 63, 66, 69, 97, 151, 160, 184 (2). I.q. *Deutsee*, *N* conj., p. 151 simple dependent ; ruled by *leguez* (160), by *ceimbat* (66), by *cer* (184). *That they have it to it ; N* rel. (25) acc. s. (*that*) *which they have to them ; N* rel. act. (*Those*) *who have it to them ; (97) Those which have it to it ; N* rel. loc. (69). *In which he has it to them ; (63) in which they have it to them*.
- Deutseena**, 178, 194. I.q. *Deutseen*, *N* rel. acc. decl. nom. (*na=that which*). *That which he has to them ; and 194 N* rel. act. decl. nom. (*na=he who*) ; *he who has it to them*.
- Deutseenac**. I.q. *Deutsee*, dat. pl. with *N* rel. pl. act. decl. pl. nom. (7, 52, 54, 55, 172, 200, 201 (4), 203) *Those which have it to them*. (170, 193) *Those who have it to him*. (56, 150) *Those to whom it has it*. On p. 194 *deutsanac* ought to be *deutseenac*, *He who has it to them*.
- Deutseenian**, 124. I.q. *Deutsee*. Ind. s. 3., acc. s., dat. pl., *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian=when*). *When he has it to them*.
- Deutseenic**, 176. I.q. *Deutsee*. Ind. s. 3., acc. s., dat. pl., *N* rel. act., decl. partitive indef. (*Any one*) *which has it to them*.
- Deutseez** (*Deutsez* in *Lardizábal*, whose *Deutseez* is: *They have them to them*), 173. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl., aux. act. *Has them to them*.
- Deutseezala**, 67 (2), 78 (2). I.q. *Deutseez*, *A* euph., *la* conj. and participial. *That, or while, he has them to them*. On p. 67 the dative is *alcarri*.
- Deutseezana**, 100 (bis). I.q. *Deutseez*. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., *A* euph., *N* conj., decl. nom. (*na=la*). *The-fact-that they have them to them*. (See *Lardizábal* and *Zabála*.)
- Deutseezanac**, 204. I.q. *Deutseez*, as in *Deutseezana*, *A* euph., *N* rel. act., decl. nom. (*nac=those who*). *Those who have them to them*. Yet the dative is *Dabenari*, singular. See *Dagijuezan*. Can it be a misprint for *Deutsaezanac*, a form known to *Lardizábal* which would be correct ?
- Deutseezu**, 130. Ind. pres. pl. 2. (singular in sense), acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *Have you it to them ?*

- Deutsabee**, 163. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. pl. 2 p., aux. act. *They have it to you.*
- Deutsabeezan**, 131. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl. 2 p., *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. acc., aux. act. (*Those which they have to you.*)
- Deutsudaz**, 163. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. pl., dat. pl. 2 p., aux. act. *I have them to you.*
- Deutsula**, 178. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. s., dat. pl. 2 p., *la* conj., aux. act. *That it has it to you.*
- Deutsuz**, 163. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl. 2 p., aux. act. *Has them to you.*
- Diaranac**, 8, in the edition of A.D. 1816. *Lege dirianac*, not *diranac*, in that of 1904.
- Diarduban**, 17. Ind. pres. s. 3., *BA* euph. before *N* rel. act., v. irr. consuetudinary act. (*That which practises it.*¹)
- Diardubana**, 80. I.q. *Diarduban*, decl. nom. (*na*=*he who*). *He who practises it.*
- Dino**, 66, 76, 77 (2), 79, 80 (2), 81 (2), 83, 84, 89, 90 (2), 91, 128, 129, 132, 133, 138, 147, 155, 156, 160, 161, 164, 165, 173 (2), 174 (2), 175, 193. Ind. pres. s. 3., r. s., acc. s., v. irr. act. *erran*. *Says it.* On p. 161 I inserted it, to make the sense clear, and therefore it ought there to be in *Italic*.
- Dinodan**, 59. I.q. *Dinot*, with *DA* euph. for *T* before *N*, rel. s. acc. (*That which I say.*)
- Dinot**, 34, 40, 41, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 88, 100, 117, 118, 125, 180, 194. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. s., v. irr. act. *erran*. *I say it.*
- Dinuan**, 118, 141. I.q. *Dino*, with *UA* euph. for *O* before *N* conj., ruled by *leguez*. (*As that he says it.*)
- Dinuana**, 87, 88, turned in the new edition into *Dinuena*, q.v. It is, however, just possible to interpret it as depending on *errazoiac* only, and *ta* as disjunctive instead of pluralising. Yet the phrase where *Dinuenagaz* occurs seems to render this excuse improbable.
- Dinuanez**, 82. I.q. *Dinuan*, *N* rel. acc., decl. med. indef. (*nez*=*by what*). *By what he says.* Cf. *Daucanez*, *Dinuenez*, *Leitequianez*, *Zinuenez*.
- Difue**, **Dinue**, **Dinuee**, 18 (*diñue*), 128 (*dinuee*), 138, 153, 159, 165, 166, 171, 189, 195, 196. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *erran*. *They say it.*
- Dinuen**, 45, 75, 126. I.q. *Dinue*, *N* conj. dependent. (*What they say.*)
- Dinuena**, 43, 44, 75 (87, 88, in the first edition one reads *dinuana*), 97. I.q. *Dinue*, *N* rel. acc., decl. nom., or acc. (*na*=*that which*). *That which they say.*

¹ What is the base of this group of the Verb? Can it be *jar*, *jarri*=*settle*? Lardizábal, p. 52, says: 'Verbo *jardun* ó *ari* estarse haciendo algo.'

Dinuenagaz, 104. I.q. *Dinuen*, *N* rel. acc., decl. med. or cop. def. (*nagaz=by*, or *with*, *that which*). *By that which they say.*

Dinuenez, **Dinueenez**, 30, 140. I.q. *Dinuen*, *N* rel. acc., decl. med. indef. (*nez=by what*). *By what they say.*

Dira, 7 (ter), 8, 9 (bis), 10, 13, 16, 17 (2), 19, 20 (2), 27, 28 (2), 30, 31 (2), 32, 33 (3), 34 (3), 38, 42, 43, 47 (3), 50, 52, 53, 54 (2), 55, 56, 57, 58 (2), (59 understood), 62 (2), 64 (2), 69 (6), 70 (3), 71, 72, 73, 74, 77 (2), 79, 80 (da in 1816), 82 (2), 87, 90, 99, 106, 109, 110 (3), 111 (2), 112 (3), 114 (2), 115, 116, 119 (2), 121, 124, 133, 136 (3), 137 (4), 139 (2), 140, 141, 144, 150 (2), 153, 154 (6), 155 (2), 165, 169 (3), 177, 179, 182, 186, 187, 188, 190, 195, 197 (5), 198 (4), 199, 200 (3), 201 (2), 202 (2), 203 (3), 204 (3), 205 (8), 206 (4), 207 (2). Ind. pres. pl. 3., v. s. and aux. *They are.*

Diriala, 16 (2), 44, 45, 51, 52 (2), 56, 58, 61, 81, 83, 89, 95, 96, 101, 102, 104 (3), 115, 124, 126 (2), 150, 151, 153, 156, 160 (2), 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 176, 178, 181, 183, 196 (3), 207. I.q. *Dira*, with *IA* euph. before *la* participial, or conj. *While they are ; that they are.*

Dirialaco, 29, 63, 68, 78, 102, 107 (3), 113, 150. I.q. *Diriala* conj., with the adjectival *co*, pretextive. *On-the-ground-that they are.*

Dirian, 8, 13, 28, 31, 35, 36, 40 (2), 41, 43 (2), 44 (4), 45 (2), 46 (2), 53, 58, 60, 62, 63, 66, 68 (2), 70, 74, 75, 82, 84, 85, 89, 94, 95, 96 (3), 97, 99, 101 (4), 102 (2), 103 (2), 104 (2), 105 (5), 107 (2), 109, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120 (3), 121, 122, 124 (2), 125, 129 (2), 146 (2), 154, 156, 157, 160, 162, 164, 165, 168 (2), 175, 180, 193, 194 (2), 203, 205, 207. I.q. *Dira*, with *IA* euph. for *A* before *N* conj., and rel. pl. nom. *That they are ; (those) which are.*

Diriana, 32, 91, 147, 149, 168, 195. I.q. *Dirian*, *N* conj. decl. nom. s. def. (*na=la*). *The-fact-that they are.*

Dirianac, 8, 29, 43, 44, 45, 52, 55, 69 (2), 180 (3), 182, 198, 201, 203 (3). I.q. *Dirian*, *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. nom. pl. (*nac=those which*). *Those which are.* (In 1816 they put *diaranac* on p. 8. In the new edition read *dirianac*, pp. 8, 29, not *diranac*.)

Dirianai, 53 (3). I.q. *Dirian*, *N* rel. nom. pl., decl. pl. dat. def. (*nai=to those who*). *To those who are.*

Dirianeetati, **Dirianetati**, 53, 126. I.q. *Dirian*, *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. pl. partitive def. (*netati=from among those who*). *Out of those who are.*

Dirianian, 124, 173. I.q. *Dirian*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian=when*). *When they are.*

Dirurijeela, 65. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., *la* participial, v. irr. act. *iruri=irudi*. *While they resemble them.*

Ditezala, 24. Imp. pl. 3., aux. *Let them be !*

Ditezan, 10, 34, 196. Subj. pres. pl. 3., aux. On pages 10 and 34 it has the final sense, as if ending in *tzát*. *So that they may be.*

- Ditu**, 13 (2), 18, 80, 88, 150, 151, 152 (2), 154, 172 (2), 173. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., v. poss. and aux. act. *Has them.*
- Ditubala**, 138. I.q. *Ditu*, with *BA* euph. before *la* conj. *That it has them.*
- Ditubalaco**, 41, 70, 152. I.q. *Ditubala*, with *co* adjectival, pretextive. *On-the-ground-that it has them.*
- Dituban**, 7, 65, 71, 75, 152, 165, 170. I.q. *Ditu*, with *BA* euph. before *N* rel. pl. acc. (7, 71, 75, 170), and *N* conj. dependent (65, 152, 165). *(Those) which it has ; that it has them.*
- Ditubana**, 140, 184. I.q. *Dituban*, *N* rel. s. act., decl. nom. (*na*=*that which*). *That which has them.*
- Ditubanac**, 14 (2), 64, 70, 74. I.q. *Ditubana*, but p. 74 act. ruling *Deust.* (*nac*=*he who*). *He who has them.* On pp. 14, 64, 70 the *N* is rel. pl. acc. decl. nom. (*nac*=*those whom*). *Those whom one has.*
- Ditubanian**, 66. I.q. *Dituban*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When it has them.*
- Ditubanic**, 94. I.q. *Dituban*, *N* rel. s. act., decl. partitive indef. (*nic*=*any one who*). *Any one who has them.*
- Ditubee**, **Dituvee**, 13 (2), 28, 47, 77, 79, 87, 119, 129, 135, 145, 150, 169, 182. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *They have them.*
- Ditubeela**, 60 (2), 83, 91, 101 (2), 177. I.q. *Ditubee*, with *la* conj. *That they have them.*
- Ditubeelaco**, 87. I.q. *Ditubeela*, with the adj. pretextive *co*=*for*. *On-the-ground-that they have them.*
- Ditubeen**, **Dituben**, 28, 45, 61, 80, 97, 102, 108, 130, 153, 175, 183. I.q. *Ditubee*, with *N* rel. pl. acc. (28, 45, 61, 80, 175, 183); act. (97); loc. (102); and *N* conj. (108 with *leguez*, 130, 153). *(Those) which they have ; (those) which have them ; where they have them ; that they have them.*
- Ditubeenac**. I.q. *Ditubeen*, *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. 52, 53, 200, 204, 206 (2). In l. 2 of p. 206 it contains *N* rel. pl. acc., decl. pl. acc., and is the accusative of the other *ditubeenac* (*nac*=*those which*). *Those which have them ; and 206, l. 2 those which they have.*
- Ditudala**, 105. I.q. *Ditut*, with *DA* euph. for *T* before *la* conj. *That I have them.* But, as it governs a clause beginning 'cer dirian,' and not any accusative plural, it ought to be *Dodala*, and so appears in the second edition, composed in October, 1904, and published in May, 1914.
- Ditudalaco**, 177. I.q. *Ditudala*, with *co* pretextive. *On-the-ground-that I have them.*
- Ditudan**, 136 (2). I.q. *Ditut*, *DA* euph. for *T* before *N* rel. pl. acc. *(Those) which I have.*
- Ditugulaco**, 167. Ind. pres. pl. 1., acc. pl., *laco* conj. pretextive, aux. act. *On-the-ground-that we have them.*

- Ditugun**, 56. Ind. pres. pl. 1., acc. pl., *N* rel. temp., aux. act. *When, or during which, we have them.*
- Ditugunian**, 132. I.q. *Ditugun*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When we have them.*
- Ditut**, 76, 89. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. pl., aux. act. *I have them.*
- Dituzu**, 131 (2). Ind. pres. pl. 2., acc. pl., aux. act. *You have them.*
- Dituzun**, 131. I.q. *Dituzu*, *N* conj. dependent. *That you have them.*
- Dodala**, 10, 194. I.q. *Dot*, *DA* euph. for *T* before *la* conj. *That I have it.*
- Dodalaco**, 177. I.q. *Dodala*, *co* pretextive. *On-the-ground-that I have it.*
- Dodan**, 74. I.q. *Dot*, *DA* euph. for *T* before *N* rel. acc. (*That*) *which I have.*
- Dogu**, 19, 22, 64, 137, 143, 166, 176, 190. Ind. pres. pl. 1., acc. s., aux. act. *We have it.*
- Dogun**, 135, 151. I.q. *Dogu*, *N* rel. acc. (135); *N* conj. ruled by *leguez*. (*That*) *which we have*; (*as*) *that we have it.*
- Dogunian**, 84. I.q. *Dogun*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When we have it.*
- Doian**, 171 (2), 174. I.q. *Doan*=*Duan*. Ind. pres. s. 3., v. irr. intr. *ioan*, *N* rel. temp. (171). *When he goes*; *N* rel. nom. (174). *Who goes.*
- Doiana**, 103. I.q. *Doian*, *N* rel. nom., decl. acc. to *Legui* (*na*=*him who*). *Him who goes.*
- Doianac**, 187. I.q. *Doian*, *N* rel. nom., decl. act., subject of *Darca* (*nac*=*he who*). *He who goes.*
- Dot**, 5, 10, 24, 34, 60, 74, 82, 90, 105, 108 (2), 124 (2), 125 (2), 126 (2), 128, 133, 179, 193 (2), 194. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. s., aux. act. *I have it.*
- Dozu**, 90, 130 (7), 131 (2), 151, 152, 178. Ind. pres. pl. 2., acc. s., aux. act. *You have it.*
- Dozula**, 162. I.q. *Dozu*, *la* conj. *That you have it.*
- Dozun**, 131, 162, 179. I.q. *Dozu*, *N* rel. temp., and acc. s., and pl. act. *When you have it* (162); (*that*) *which you have* (131); *you-who have it* (179).
- Dua**, 70, 72. Ind. pres. s. 3., v. irr. pass. *ioan*. *Goes.*
- Duaz**, 72, 94 (*ezba*=*if not*), 116. Ind. pres. pl. 3., v. pass. *ioan*. *They go.*
- Duazala**, 89, 101 (2), 113, 160. I.q. *Duaz*, *A* euph. before *la* conj. *That they go.*
- Duazan**, 51, 100, 116 (2), 129. I.q. *Duaz*, *A* euph. before *N* conj., ruled by *leguez*, *N* rel. pl. nom. (51, 129); *N* rel. temp. (100). (*As*) *that they go*; (*those*) *who go*; *when they go.*
- Duazana**, 100. I.q. *Duazan*, *N* conj., decl. nom. (*na*=*the-fact-that*=*la*). *The-fact-that they go.*

- Duazanac**, 47, 48, 55, 73, 90, 99, 103, 122, 123 (2), 132, 160. I.q. *Duazan*, *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. pl. act. (47, 73), nom., and acc. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who go*.
- Duazanai**, 73. I.q. *Duazan*, *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. dat. pl. (*nai*=*to those who*). *To those who go*.
- Duazanian**, 32, 115. I.q. *Duazan*, *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When they go*.
- Evala**, 167 (2), 186. I.q. *Eban*, without the *N* because *la* conj. ends it. *That he had it*.
- Evalaco**, 167. I.q. *Evala*, with *co* pret. *On-the-ground-that he had him*.
- Eban**, **Evan**, **beEban**, 23, 35 (2), 83, 111 (2), 146, 202 (4). Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act., *N* conj. dep. (111); *N* rel. s. acc. (146). On p. 202 *ezbeebango*, with the adjectival *go* for *ko*, is an artificial joke, and may be rendered 'which is disputed as given or not given.' *He had it; that he had it; (that) which he had*.
- Evana**, 36. I.q. *Eban*, *N* rel. s. acc., decl. nom. (*na*=*that which*). *That which she had*.
- Eveela**, 19 (2), 81, 128 (2), 167. I.q. *Ebeen*, *la* conj. eclipsing the *N*. *That they had it*.
- Eveen**, 19, 32, 42, 73, 80, 85 (2), 86, 87, 126, 128, 142, 190. Ind. imp. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *They had it*. On p. 42 the *N* is conj. ruled by *leguez*=*as*; on p. 85 the same with *baixen*=*baisen*=*besain*=(*as much*) *as*.
- Eveena**, 140, 145. I.q. *Eveen*, *N* conj., decl. nom. (*na*=*the-fact-that*). *The fact that they had it*; and 145 *N* rel. s. acc., decl. nom. (*na*=*that which*). *That which they had*.
- Eveenac**, 9. I.q. *Eveen*, *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who had it*.
- Evilen**, 23. Ind. imp. s. 3., v. irr. pass. *ebil*. *She went, or walked*.
- Eguijeezala**, 143. Subj. imp. pl. 3., acc. pl., *la* conj., aux. act. *That they should have them*.
- Eguijozu**, 5. Imp. pl. 2., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *Have you it to it!*¹
- Eguizu**, 162 (3), 163 (2). Imp. pl. 2., acc. s., aux. act. *Have you it!*¹
- Eguizuz**, 151. Imp. pl. 2., acc. pl., aux. act. *Have you them!*¹
- Eguan**, 24. Ind. imp. s. 3., v. neut. *egon*. *It stayed*.
- Euqueelaco**, 128. Cond. imp. pl. 3., acc. s., *la* conj., *co* pret., aux. act. *On-the-ground-that they should have it*.
- Euquezan**, 23. Cond. Pot. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. acc., aux. act. (*Those*) *which he could have*.

¹ These words, containing the root *egui*, *eguin*=*do, done, made*, may literally be rendered by *do* instead of *have*. Can this root be akin to Gaelic *éigean*, *eigin*; or to Latin *feci*, *facin(us)*? One can *do* no thing without *effort*, or *force*.

- Euqeezanac**, 143. Cond. imp. pl. 3., acc. pl., *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=those who). *Those who would have them.*
- Euquian**, 36. Cond. imp. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *She could, or would have it.*
- Eutsala**, 159 (2). I.q. *Eutsan*, *la* eclipsing *n*. *That he had it to her.*
- Eutsan**, 133, 139, 159, 164. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *He had it to it.*
- Eutsazalaco**, 24. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. s., *A* euph., before *laco* pretextive. *On-the-ground-that she had them to her.*
- Eutseen (A)**, 24, 148. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *He had it to them.*
- Eutseen (B)**, 85, 143 (2). Ind. imp. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *They had it to them.*
- Eutseenac**, 206 (2). I.q. *Eutseen (A)*, *N* rel. pl. dat., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=those to whom). *Those to whom it had it.*
- Eutseenac**, 138 (2). I.q. *Eutseen (B)*, *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=those who). *Those who had it to them.*
- Eutsezan**, 173. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl., aux. act. *He had them to them.*
- Eutseezan**, 140. Ind. imp. pl. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl., aux. act. *They had them to them.*
- Eutseezanac**, 206. In the new edition *eutsezanac*. I.q. *Eutsezan*, *N* rel. pl. dat., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=those to whom). *Those to whom it had them.*
- Eutscuzan**, 79. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., dat. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *He had them to us.*
- Gaitezala**, 22 (3). Subj. pres. pl. 1., aux. *That we be.*
- Gaitezan**, 96, 191 (2). Imp. and Conj. pl. 1., aux. *Let us be! That we be.*
- Gaitu**, 22, 168. Ind. pres. s. 3., acc. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *Has us.* (On p. 168 read *eguín gordiác*.)
- Gaitubala**, 38. I.q. *Gaitu*, *BA* euph. before *la* conj. *That he has us.*
- Gaizala**, 132. Imp. s. 3., acc. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *Let him have us.*
- Gaizan**, 190. Subj. s. 3., acc. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *That he may have us.*
It is here destinative in sense, as if it were *gaizantzát*.
- Gariala**, 84, 177. Ind. pres. pl. 1., *A* euph., *la* conj., v. s. and aux. *That we are.*
- Guenduban**, 190. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *We had it.*
- Guengoquez**, 168. Pot. Cond. fut. pl. 1., v. irr. neut. *egon*. *We should stay.*
- Guinai**, 19, 57, 159. Pot. pres. pl. 1., acc. s., aux. act. *We could have it.* (*Zabála* wrote it *guinei*, p. 123.)
- baGuinduz**, 168. Suppositive pl. 3., acc. pl. 1 p., aux. act. *If they had us.*

- Guazan**, 63, 98. Imp. pl. 3., v. irr. neut. *joan*. *Let us go!*
- Jaco**, 51, 59, 60, 79, 139, 140, 167, 171. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s., aux. *Is to it*.
- Jacola**, 33. I.q. *Jaco*, *la* participial. *It being to it*.
- Jacolaco**, 119. I.q. *Jaco*, with *laco* pret. *On-the-ground-that it is to one*.
- Jacon** (A), 22, 33. I.q. *Jaco*, *N* conj., ruled by *celan* (33); *N* rel. nom. (*How*) *that it is*, or *which it is*, *to it*.
- Jacon**, 24. Ind. imp. s. 3., dat. s., aux. *She was to her*. (Zabála, 134.)
- Jacona**, 14. I.q. *Jacon*, pres., *N* rel. nom., decl. nom. (*na*=*that which*). *That which is to one*.
- Jacoz**, 33. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. s., aux. *They are to it*.
- Jacue**, 36, 106, 117 (2), 155, 160, 166, 167, 168, 181, 182, 183, 186, 196, 197. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. pl., aux. *Is to them*.
- Jacuelaco**, 74 (2). I.q. *Jacue*, *laco* pret. *On-the-ground-that it is to them*.
- Jacuen**, 172. I.q. *Jacue*, with *N* conj. superfluous in a relative clause. (*That*) *it is to them*.
- Jacuen**, 23, 127, 128. Ind. imp. s. 3., dat. s., aux. *It was to him*.
- Jacuenac**, 204. I.q. *Jacue*, *N* rel. pl. dat., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=*those to whom*). *Those to whom it is*.
- Jacuez**, 124. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. pl., aux. *They are to them*.
- Jacuezan**, 144. Ind. imp. pl. 3., dat. pl., aux. *They were to them*.
- Jagocan**, 91, 166 (2). Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s., *N* rel. nom., v. irr. neut. *egon*. *Which belongs to it*.
- Jagocuela**, 89. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. pl., v. irr. neut. *egon*. *That it belongs to them*.
- Jagocuezan**, 61. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. pl., *N* rel. pl. nom., v. irr. neut. *egon*. (*Those*) *which belong to them*.
- Jat**, 163. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s. 1 p., aux. *Is to me*. (l. 7 read *gogor*.)
- ezbaJuaco**, 11. Ind. pres. s. 3., dat. s., v. irr. neut. *joan*. (*If*) *it goes (not) to one*.
- Juacozan**, 65. Ind. pres. pl. 3., dat. s., *A* euph. before *N* rel. s. dat. (*Her*) *to whom they go*.
- baLebee**, **Levee**, 21 (2), 114 (with the prefix *ez*), 151, 152, 153. Suppositive pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. (*If*) *they had it*.
- baLequi**, 180. Suppositive s. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *iaquin*. *If she knew it*.
- Legui** (A), 28, 36 (2), 38, 54, 111, 128, 188 (2), 196. Pot. pres. s. 3., aux. *It can be*.¹ Cf. *Leguiz* (A).
- Legui** (B), 31, 32 (2), 62, 63, 101, 103, 113, 123, 134, 153, 181, 185. Pot. Cond. imp. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *He could have it*. See *Lei* on p. 123 of Zabála.

¹ Some of these potential and conditional words beginning in *L* are difficult to classify and parse exactly. Their meaning varies according to their context.

- Leguijala** (A), 186 (2; in lines 2 and 5). I.q. *Legui*, aux., *JA* euph. before *la* conj. *That it might be.*
- Leguijala, Leijala** (B), 16, 79, 185, 186 (line 8). I.q. *Legui*, aux. act., *JA* euph. before *la* conj. *That he might have it.*
- Leguijan, Leijan** (A), 22, 68. I.q. *Legui*, aux., *JA* euph. with *N* rel. nom. (*That*) *which might be.* *Leijan* occurs in both editions on p. 22. (*Ezin* means not possibly.)
- Leguijan, Leijan** (B), 10, 156. I.q. *Legui* (B), *JA* euph., *N* rel. act. *Leijan* occurs in both editions on p. 10. (*That*) *which might have it.*
- Leguijee**, 12, 36, 115, 149. Pot. Cond. imp. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *They might have it.* (P. 113 in Zabála.)
- Leguijeela**, 167, 183 (2). I.q. *Leguijee*, *la* conj. *That they could have it.* (*Ezin*, p. 183, means not possibly.)
- Leguijeez, Leguijez**, 148, 151, 152, 153, 155. Pot. Cond. imp. pl. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *They might have them.* (P. 113 in Zabála.)
- Leguijue** (A), 51. Pot. imp. s. 3., dat. pl., aux. *It might be to them.* Perhaps a variety of *leikioe*, on p. 158 of Zabála.
- Leguijue** (B), 147. Pot. imp. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *They might have it to it.* *Gentiari*, dat. sing., is a noun of multitude. Cf. *leguioee* in Zabála, p. 113.
- Leguijueenac**, 76. I.q. *Leguijue* (B), *N* rel. pl. act., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=those which). *Those which might have it to him.* The only dative expressed is *Cristinaubari*=to the Christian person.
- Leguiz** (A), 30, 33, 78, 88, 155. Pot. pres. pl. 3., aux. *They may be.* Cf. *Legui*, aux.
- Leguiz** (B), 114, 120, 124, 150. Cf. Zabála, p. 113 (*ba*) *leguiz*, and 123, *leiz*. *Lardizábal*, Ap. 2º, 10, *leiz*. Pot. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *He can have them.*
- Leguizala**, 79, 103. Pot. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., aux. act., *la* conj. *That he could have them.*
- Leguizan** (A), 28. I.q. *Leguiz* passive, *A* euph. before *N* rel. pl. nom. (*Those*) *which might be.*
- Leguizan** (B), 71, 82. I.q. *Leguiz* act., *A* euph. before *N* rel. pl. acc. (*Those*) *which one might have.* It might also be the *leguizan* which one finds in Zabála, p. 111, with the *N* serving as relative pronoun.
- Leguizaneen**, 5 (2). I.q. *Leguizan* passive, *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. poss. pl. (*neen*=of those which). *Of those which might be.*
- Leijala**, 16. I.q. *Leguijala* act., q.v.
- Leijan**, 22. I.q. *Leguijan* (A) pass., q.v.
- Leijan**, 10. I.q. *Leguijan* (B) act., q.v.
- Leiteque, Leitequee**, 10, 36, 37, 40, 169, 177, 178, 185, 186 (2), 187 (2). Pot. Cond. imp. s. 3., aux. (Zabála, p. 159, *leiteke*.) *It might have been.*

- Leitequiala**, 166. I.q. *Leiteke*, *A* euph. before *la* conj. *That he might have been.*
- Leitequian**, 26, 27 (3), 37 (2). Pot. imp. s. 3., *n* conj. aux. *It might have been.* In the second edition its alteration into *leitequean* was perhaps unnecessary.
- Leitequez**, **Leitequeez**, 47, 192. Pot. imp. pl. 3., aux. *They could be.* (Zabála, p. 159.)
- Leitequezala**, 183. I.q. *Leitequeez*, *A* euph. before *la* conj. *That they could be.*
- Leitequiana**, 189. I.q. *Leitequian*, conj., decl. nom. (*na*=*the-fact-that*). *The-fact-that he might be.*
- Leitequianez**, 124. I.q. *Leitequian*, *N* conj., decl. med. indef. [*nez*=*by-reason-that*]. *On account of what might be.*
- ba-Leu**, 14, 15 (2), 23, 108. Supp. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act. (*If*) *he had it.* (Zabála, p. 82.)
- Leuquee**, 21, 133, 147, 186, 192 (2), 193. Cond. pres., pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *They would have it.* (Zabála, p. 80.)
- Leuqueela**, 166. I.q. *Leuquee*, *la* conj. *That they would have it.*
- Leuqueen**, 48, 58, 114. Cond. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *They would have it.* On p. 58 the *N* final is rel. s. acc., (*that*) *which they would have*; on 48 it is the conjunction=*that* ruled by *baino*, (*than*) *they would have it*; on p. 114 the same ruled by *ce*.
- Leuquiala**, 127. I.q. *Leuke*. Cond. pres. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act., with *A* euph. and *la* participial. *While he would have it.*
- Leuquian**, 14. I.q. *Leukeen*. Cond. pres. s. 3., acc. s., aux. act., *N* rel. s. acc. (*That*) *which he would have.*
- Leusquegun**, 169. Cond. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. pl. 1 p., aux. act., *N* rel. s. acc. (*That*) *which they would have to us.*
- Leusquijue**, 114. Cond. fut. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. pl., aux. act. *They would have it to them.*
- ba-Leustee**, 116. Supp. pl. 3., acc. s., dat. s. 1 p., aux. act. (*If*) *they had it to me.* (Zabála, p. 83.)
- Lichaquio**, 15. Cond. fut. s. 3., dat. s., aux. *It would be to him.*
- ba-Lira**, 21, 82, 133 (2), 134, 136, 137, 160, 165, 168, 177, 207. Supp. pl. 3., v. s., and aux. (*If*) *they were.*
- ba-Litubee**, 87, 111. Supp. pl. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. (*If*) *they had them.*
- Lituque**, 82, 180. Cond. pres. s. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *She would have them.*
- Lituquee**, 156, 160, 176. Cond. pres. pl. 3., acc. s., aux. act. *They would have them.* (*Lituzkee* in Guipúscoan. See Lardizábal, Ap. 1°.)
- Lituqueez**, 137. I.q. *Lituquee*. (Not in Zabála.)
- ba-Litz**, 13, 20, 34. Supp. s. 3., v. s. (*If*) *it was.* (Zabála, p. 137.)

- Litzaateque**, 15 (2), 34. Cond. pres. s. 3., aux. *It would be.* (Zabála, p. 136.)
- Litzatequez**, **Litzaatequez**, 111, 133, 134, 165. Cond. pres. pl. 3., aux. *They would be.* (Zabála, p. 136.)
- Naijela**, 11. Subj. pres. pl. 3., acc. s. 1 p., aux. act. *That they have me.* (See Zabála, p. 119, where he calls it potential. In Lardizábal the Subjunctive is *nagie*.)
- Nas**, 125. Ind. pres. s. 1., aux. *Am.*
- Nasala**, 64. I.q. *Nas*, *A* euph., *la* conj. *That I am.*
- Nasalaco**, 177 (2). I.q. *Nasala*, *co* pretextive. *On-the-ground-that I am.*
- Nasan**, 67, 125. I.q. *Nas*, *A* euph., *N* rel. pl. med. (67), directive (125). *About which ; towards which I am.*
- Nasaneco**, 163. I.q. *Nasan*, *N* temp., *E* euph., *co* adj. *For, or belonging-to, when I am.*
- Neban**, 103. Ind. imp. s. 1., acc. s., *N* rel. s. acc., aux. act. (*That*) *which I had.*
- Neguijo**, 3. Pot. imp. s. 1., acc. s., dat. s., aux. act. *Could I have had it to one ?* Probably a misprint of *nekijo*.
- Nenguan**, 113. Ind. imp. s. 1., *N* rel. s. loc., v. irr. neut. *egon*. *In which I stayed.*
- Neuque**, 117, 194. Cond. fut. s. 1., acc. s., aux. act. *I should have it.* Zabála has it *neunke*, p. 80.
- Neuquian**, 125. Cond. imp. s. 1., acc. s., aux. act. *I should have had it.* Zabála has it *neunkean*, p. 84.
- Nindubeen**, 113. Ind. imp. pl. 3., acc. s. 1 p., aux. act. *They had me.*
- Nintzan**, 111, 125. Ind. imp. s. 1., v. s. and aux. *I was.*
- Nintzanian**, 111. I.q. *Nintzan*, v. s., *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When I was.*
- Nituban**, 111. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., *N* rel. pl. acc., aux. act. (*Those*) *which I had.*
- Zabiltzan**, 179. Ind. pres. pl. 2., *N* rel. s. med., v. irr. neut. *ebil*. *In which you walk, or move.*
- Zacustazanian**, 4. Ind. pres. s. 1., acc. pl. 2 p. (sing. sense), *A* euph., *N* rel. temp., decl. temp., v. irr. act. *ikus* (*nian*=*when*). *When I see you.*
- Zaguizan**, 77. Subj. pres. s. 3., acc. pl. 2 p. (sing. sense), aux. act. *That she may have you.*
- Zaite**, 77, 193. Imp. pl. 2., aux. *Be you !*
- Zaitubeela**, 163. Ind. pres. pl. 3., acc. pl. 2 p., *la* conj., aux. act. *That they have you.*
- Zala**, 162. I.q. *Zan*, *la* participial eclipsing *n*. *While it was.*
- Zan**, 23, 28, 125, 141, 142, 145. Ind. imp. s. 3., v. s. and aux. *It was.*
- be-egoZan**, 143 ; **egoZan**, 111, 162. See it under *B*.

- eiZana**, 169 (= *Zala*). I.q. *Zan*, *N* conj., decl. nom. s. (*na*=*the-fact-that*). *The-fact-that he was (habitually)*. *ei*=*oi*=*accustomed*, which reminds us of the Greek $\epsilon\iota(\theta)\epsilon\iota$, and the note on *Daroianac*.
- Zanian**, 32, 35, 73. I.q. *Zan*, aux., *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=*when*). *When he was*.
- Zanic**, 190 (3). I.q. *Zan*, aux., *N* rel. temp., decl. partitive indef. *nic*. *Anything (about a time) when it was*.
- Zara**, 131 (4), 162. Ind. pres. pl. 2., v. s. and aux. *You are*.
- Zariala**, 130, 131. I.q. *Zara*, v. s., with *IA* euph. before *la* participial. *While you are*.
- Zarian**, 130, 179. I.q. *Zara*, v. s. and aux., with *IA* euph. and *N* rel. loc., and (179) *N* conj. (*That*) *in which you are*; (*just who*) *you are*.
- eZecusala**, 23. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. s., *la* participial, v. irr. act. *ikus*. The *e* initial is the old negative=*not*. *While (one) saw her (not)*.
- Zedin**, 206. Subj. imp. s. 3., aux., in the final sense=*zedintzât*. *That it might be*. In Leizarragas New Testament, in the Baskish of France of the sixteenth century, it is of the simple indicative mood, seemingly an old form of *cen*, *tzen*. See Zabála, p. 151.
- Cenbiltzan**, 162. In 1816 misprinted *cenbizan*. Ind. imp. pl. 2., *n* final rel. temp., v. irr. pass. *ebil*. *While you walked, or moved*.
- Cenduque**, 177 (2). Cond. pres. pl. 2., acc. s., aux. act. *Would you have it?*
- Zinaizala**, 177. Pot. pres. pl. 2., acc. pl., *la* conj., aux. act. *That you can have them*. See p. 10, col. 2, 'otro presente' of the Ap. Seg. of Lardizábal.
- Cinuan**, 36. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. s., v. irr. act. *erran*. *She said it*.¹
- Zinuenez**, 96. Ind. imp. pl. 3., acc. s., *N* rel. s. acc., decl. med. indef., v. irr. act. *erran* (*nez*=*by what*). *By (what) they said*.¹ Cf. the note on *Dinuanez*.
- Ciriala**, **Ziriala**, 77, 128, 138, 153. I.q. *Zirian*, v. s. and aux., with *la* conj. in stead of the *N*. *That they were*.
- Cirialaco**, 190. I.q. *Ciriala*, with *co* pret. *On-the-ground-that they were*.
- Cirian**, **Zirian**, **baTzirian**, 18, 48, 84, 106 (2), 111 (2), 137, 140, 141, 142 (4), 143, 144 (2), 145 (2), 162, 180, 190 (2, l. 4, *ezcirian*, in l. 6, *ba-Tzirian*). Ind. imp. pl. 3., v. s. and aux. *They were*.
- Cirianac**, **Zirianac**, 59, 143. I.q. *Zirian*, aux., *N* rel. pl. nom., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=*those who*). *Those who were*.
- Zirianeti**, 190. I.q. *Zirian*, aux., *N* rel. temp., decl. departitive with *e* euph. (*neti*=*since when*). *From the time when they were*.

¹ It will be understood that these forms do not derive from *erran*, any more than *are* does from *be* in English, or *fui* from *esse* in Latin. They serve only as allies, to carry out its intention.

- Cirianian, Zirianian, 141, 190. I.q. *Zirian*, aux. and v. s., *N* rel. temp., decl. temp. (*nian*=when). *When they were.*
- Citubala, 138. I.q. *Cituban*, *la* conj. eclipsing *n*. *That he had them.*
- Zitubalaco, 144 (misprinted *zitubaco* in 1816). I.q. *Cituban*, with *laco* pretextive, eclipsing the *n*. *On-the-ground-that he had them.*
- Cituban, 23 (2), 82. Ind. imp. s. 3., acc. pl., aux. act. *She had them.*
- Zitubanac, 206. I.q. *Cituban*, *N* rel. pl. acc., decl. nom. pl. (*nac*=those whom). *Those whom it had.*
- Citubeela, 19. I.q. *Citubeen*, the *n* falling before *la* conj. *That they had them.*
- Citubeen, Zitubeen, 8, 131, 140, 144, 145, 162 (*zituben* in both editions), 181, 202, 205, 206. Ind. imp. pl. 3., acc. pl., *N* rel. pl. acc. (8); act. (202); *N* conj. ruled by *leguez* (144). *They had them; (those) which they had; (those) which had them; (as that) they had them.*
- Citubeenena, 141. I.q. *Citubeen*, *N* rel. pl. act., decl. pl. poss.; decl. nom. s. (*nen*a=that of those who). *That of those who had them.*

BAINA CER VERBA! (p. 64)

The Baskish Verb is a system of shorthand, based on *being* for the passive, and on *having*, or *doing*, for the active mood. This was pointed out by the earliest native grammarian, Rafael Micoleta, Presbytero de Bilbao, in 1653, whose manuscript, in Biscayan and *Romance* (i.e. Castilian), once the property of Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich, is kept in the British Museum. The third edition¹ of it was published by the author of this Index, at Sevilla, in 1897. E. Coles in *An English Dictionary* (London, 1708), includes 'Bascuence, sp. the Biscay tongue.'

The vowels in Biscayan, which is the daily tung of many thousands of children, have the Italian, and the consonants the German, sound. For English mouths *v* is always *b*; *qu* represented *k*; *c* followed by *e* or *i*, and *z* before vowels, are equal to *ss*, and often formerly to *ts*; *g* is always hard, and unaspirate, as in Latin; in *gue* and *gui* the *u* is silent, and a mere protection against Castilian *g*. The protean relative pronoun *N* occurs only as a termination of the Verb.

¹ On p. 17, read *moho*.

The reader is asked to test the value of this findy catalog, by verifying all its jots and tittles in the little book to which it serves as a sign-post or a light-house. New-gained knowledge, with a wider panorama, is always a pleasure; even if the path by which we ascend to its *Ben Nevis* seems very bask. *Dinot bene benetan nik: patience is its own reward.*

On p. 259 of vol. i. of *A History of Hampshire* (Westminster, 1900), we read: 'This Neolithic people, as I have pointed out elsewhere, invaded Europe from the north-east, bringing in with them domestic animals, and arts hitherto unknown in the West. They occupied the whole of France and of Spain, as well as the British Isles. They were of non-Aryan stock, and spoke a tongue [*sic*] represented now by the almost extinct Basque language. They formed a homogeneous population in Neolithic Hampshire, without mixture of any other race.'

The Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J., of Milltown Park, Dublin, sent me the following note: 'I should be very much interested to know from you what you think of a theory of Standish O'Grady in his *History of Ireland*, Heroic Period. In the first volume of this book, p. 15, he says: "The Irish are a mixed race—the Basque and the Celtic. The original inhabitants of the country were Basque." I wonder what foundation there is for this statement.'

I think it is probable that O'Grady guessed correctly; if the *Iberi* became Basks. May his opinion lead all the Scotsmen, Manxmen and Irishmen to study Baskish!

Feast of St. Edward, King of the West Saxons, 1915.

VIRTVS SEMPER EADEM

CORRIGENDA: p. 56, n. 1, l. 6, writers and printers; p. 60, l. 29, *Dabeenezquero* was accidentally left out; p. 62, l. 1, *Dacarreez*, l. 9, *Ochoa* . . . l. 24, *leguez*.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE HIGHLANDS

H. F. CAMPBELL

ONE cannot enter upon a discussion of this subject without paying tribute to the admirable work which has been accomplished in recent years for Secondary Education in the Highlands by the Education Department, mainly under the able direction of Dr. J. L. Robertson, H.M.C.I.S. In 1872 there were no secondary schools within the Highland areas except the Academies of Inverness and Tain. There are to-day distributed over the Highlands some forty institutions, most of them well and even liberally equipped as intermediate and secondary schools.

The work achieved during the past twenty-four years by the Highland Trust (with which the name of Dr. William Dey is so honourably associated) also calls for a word of grateful recognition. Nor can the excellent record of An Comunn Gaidhealach in literature and music be passed over. Many young men and women have passed through the universities, and are now usefully employed in professional work, who received their earliest intellectual stimulus while preparing for the annual competitions of the Gaelic Mòd. Every year that passes witnesses a growth in the usefulness and importance of the educational work of An Comunn. The prospects now so promising of the institution of a Highland University College are in no small measure due to the solid work accomplished at the Gaelic Mòds in the past, and to the progressive educational atmosphere which that work has created.

On the foundations thus laid, it is now possible to erect a more spacious superstructure. Within the past year or two opinion in the Highlands has been gradually maturing to the conclusion that the time has come for inaugurating a comprehensive scheme of Higher Education adequate to the needs of that part of the country. One cardinal fact in

the situation is that the Gaidhealteachd is a bilingual country. It is different from the south of Scotland and England. It resembles Quebec, South Africa, Ireland and Wales. In these four countries the organisation of Higher Education has been in recent years placed on a bilingual basis. Hitherto Scottish University education has been organised as if there were no such thing as bilingualism within the bounds of Scotland. Not one of the existing Scottish Universities is adequately organised to meet the full needs of the Highlands. Prior to 1860, King's College, Aberdeen, maintained somewhat close relations with the northern Highlands, yet no one can affirm that the academic requirements of that part of the country have ever been adequately recognised in the past. The position to-day may be gauged by the fact that in the University of Aberdeen Gaelic is classed with Chinese and Gujarati as a preliminary subject but is not taught.

The courses of instruction now furnished in the Scottish Universities as a preparation for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church cannot surely be considered adequate in view of the very great dearth of Gaelic-speaking ministers in all sections of Presbyterianism. The dearth of ministers for Gaelic charges is no greater than the dearth of fully equipped Gaelic-speaking teachers in the schools. Probably a scrutiny of the other professions would disclose similar shortcomings. Nor should there be any surprise at all this when it is remembered that, as has been stated above, the Higher Education of Scotland has been organised without regard to the special needs of the Highlands.

An adequate scheme of Higher Education for the Highlands ought, on the one hand, to provide courses of instruction in technical science adapted to the commercial and industrial needs of the north country, while on the other hand, there ought to be room for a seat of higher learning devoted to the cultivation of literature, philosophy, and science. One is constrained to inquire what in the event of further expansion of Higher Education should be the

scope and aim of such expansion, and what practical steps can now be taken to build up the required superstructure. A comprehensive scheme covering the whole ground would provide central institutions in agricultural science and technology, for the provision of which aid might be expected from the public departments of the Government, and side by side with these central institutions a University College possessing faculties of Arts, Science, and Education, for the endowment of which an appeal must be made to the patriotism and enterprise of all true Highlanders and to the generosity of the public. In present circumstances Government aid can scarcely be looked for in the departments of Philosophy and Pure Science, but the generous donor was never more liberal than he is to-day. It only needs the requisite faith and courage on the part of the promoters to achieve what is required.

Let us deal somewhat in detail with each of the proposed departments.

I. CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS

What are the needs of the Highlands in applied science? To answer this question we have to consider the existing industrial situation in that part of the country.

The chief industries in the Highlands are farming (agricultural and pastoral) and fishing. Of secondary importance in comparison with these but capable of extensive developments are forestry, engineering, and woollen manufactures.

As regards agriculture, a large part of the country is given over to small holdings, and the effect of recent legislation will be to increase the number of small holders. Sheep farms are being formed into club farms. Many large arable farms are being broken up into small holdings. If the new small holdings are to be placed upon a sound economic footing, it is of supreme importance that the small holders should be properly equipped so as to be able to farm their holdings according to the most approved modern

methods. If the small holdings are worked on the old slipshod lines as miniature large farms, their financial future is indeed gloomy. The heavy financial loss in rents suffered by the Congested Districts Board, during the fifteen years ending in March 1912, affords ample testimony that it is futile to set up small holdings without providing a means of making them pay their way. This can be done only through agricultural education. Side by side with the formation of new holdings a system of sound instruction in agriculture and economics must be built up. The present policy of promoting small holdings in the Highlands renders the provision there of an agricultural institute an absolute necessity. We must follow where Denmark, Belgium, and Ireland have led the way. It goes without saying, that such an Institute would provide courses of instruction not only in agriculture but also in the various branches of Domestic Science. The locus of the proposed institute is a problem which may be said to have settled itself. The Board of Agriculture have selected as a stock farm for small holders the farm of Beechwood, situated on the outskirts of Inverness. This farm is so admirably equipped for the purposes of agricultural instruction, its advantages of situation, soil, aspect, and elevation are so great, that it would simply be a waste of educational opportunity if an Agricultural Institute were not established there.

The Highland fishing industry has also a strong claim for increased educational facilities. Never will Highland fishermen rise out of the slough of despond into which they have for some time fallen, until they are taught to apply to fishing the resources of modern science as their fellow fishermen have done in other parts of Scotland. Where fishermen are alive to mechanical progress they are becoming more prosperous every day. The fishermen of the West lag behind lamentably in regard to fishing gear and fishing methods. Were they to get the benefit of an institution such as the admirable Municipal Technical School for fishermen recently established at Hull, their future

would undoubtedly brighten and a new era of progress would open up for them. If and when an Agricultural Institute is established at Inverness, the authorities ought seriously to consider the question of providing technical education for the Highland fishermen. An improvement in their economic position can hardly be attained merely by persecuting those fishermen who follow more improved methods. The great prosperity of English manufactures is in no way due to the pastime of smashing spindles in which handloom weavers at one time indulged.

Under present conditions, the conversion of water power into electric power is financially profitable only when operations are conducted on a large scale. A time will probably soon come, however, when it will be a paying proposition to convert water power of moderate quantity into electricity. When that day comes there should open a period of considerable development in engineering throughout the Highlands. In any event, even at present, there is good scope for technical instruction in engineering, both electrical and mechanical. If a Technical Institute or College is to be provided for the Highlands, a strong case can be made out for providing an engineering department.

The same applies to textiles. A Technical College at Inverness ought to be the means of greatly improving the Home Industries of the Highlands. The production of handmade tweeds could then be organised on the most scientific lines. Practical instruction in economics combined with technical instruction would enable the small-holders and textile workers to reap the benefit of co-operative methods.

On forestry only one word need be said. The Government's Advisory Committee on Forestry has reported in favour of a single Forestry School for Scotland. Where that school is to be placed is still on the knees of the gods. No doubt the claim of Inverness as the centre of the largest afforestable area in Scotland will be fully considered along with the claims of Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

II. A UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

The need for an Agricultural Institute and Technical College to meet the industrial needs of the Highlands is beyond doubt. But something more is required to complete the scheme of Higher Education. This article is already so long that space is scarcely left for full discussion of the question of a University College for the Highlands, with courses of instruction in literature, philosophy, and science organised to meet the requirements of a bilingual country. To begin with, the promoters of the College ought perhaps to be content with the institution of faculties in Arts and Pure Science providing courses of instruction leading up to the degrees of M.A. and B.Sc. When these faculties are once established, a means will be provided of replenishing the present meagre supply of ministers, teachers, and other professional men adequately equipped for work in the Highlands.

Northern students have long taken a leading place in the ministry and in the teaching profession. They are to be found in the high places of these professions all over Great Britain and the Colonies, as well as in India, with the result that there has been a serious drain upon the supply for local requirements. The new college will help to rectify that. It may be a question whether a Degree in Education ought not to be instituted from the outset in the new College. Meantime the practical problem confronting the promoters is to determine what subjects ought to be chosen for the inaugural courses of instruction. Let the promoters go forward in a courageous and enterprising spirit, and there can be little doubt that success will attend their efforts. They will be able to make a notable addition to the educational resources of the country if they obtain a reasonable measure of financial support.

One word in conclusion about the College Library. It should be something more than merely a College Library, for it ought to serve as a National Library for the Highlands

of Scotland. The effort to make it worthy of such a function calls for much patriotic energy and self-sacrifice on the part of enterprising Highlanders. The National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth is to cost £150,000. A National Library for the Highlands—providing a receptacle for Gaelic and Highland lore and traditions of all descriptions, as well as making adequate provision for the needs of the College faculties and of the allied Central Institutions, would be a mighty boon worthy of a great effort.

We can only hope that the promoters will be able to secure a National and College Library that will be a credit to the Highlands.

At an important Conference with the Chairman of the Board of Agriculture held in the Town Hall, Inverness, on 23rd October 1914, to consider ways and means of providing a School of Agriculture for the Highlands, the Rev. J. D. MacGilp, Chairman of the Inverness School Board, proposed that the Secretary for Scotland should be urged to press forward the scheme without delay so as to provide relief of distress arising from the war and also so that the institution might be in readiness to provide training to soldiers partially disabled in the war who might desire to take up small holdings. It may be noted that a scheme to provide training in agriculture and gardening for wounded soldiers has recently been promoted in Easter Ross by the Rev. Dr. Patrick Mackay. The new Institute at Inverness could not be inaugurated more worthily than by helping those who have at such sacrifice to themselves served their country so well.

It is estimated that there are now serving under the British flag full 100,000 kilted men who have come forward with great loyalty from all parts of the Empire. Surely the Highlands deserve some recognition for all this, and there could be no more appropriate recognition than prompt provision of an Agricultural Institute where men maimed and wounded in the war could be taught a means of earning a livelihood.

THE HIGHLAND SOLDIER

REV. MALCOLM MACLEOD, M.A.

WHOEVER would know the Highland soldier with all his glamour and fascination must first understand his native land.

A land of hills and valleys, mists and sunshine, many storms and strange calms; a land the outward aspect of which ever changes, and yet is ever the same. The mysterious Beyond ever breaking through the veil, now showing in many-coloured calms, and now in lances flashing through the fleecy ridges of the sky. Again in rushing mighty storms, monarch of all.

Whoever, I say, would know the Gaelic lad must know his native land. Our land makes us—fashions ourselves and our homes. Not merely materials for our physical needs we receive from these straths and rocks and streams of ours—for man cannot live by bread alone, and a Highlander least of all men. Not merely these, but capacities and gifts bestowed and nourished by the spirit of the land, gifts which this spirit receives again in wedlock. He is a part of his native land, nourished by her, moved and ruled by Nature's varying moods and tempers.

The plenty and peace of our harvest stir us into song—song which means more than gladness—song of rich joy. Strangers visit us when Nature has on her dress of gloomy dulness and grim want, and those who have not the faculty to perceive proclaim 'the gloom of the Gael'! Yes, we respond to the spirit of our land and to her call to remember whence we are. Strangers visit us when Nature has her turn of ease, when stillness is progress, and they name us lazy! But in stillness there is strength, and in strength progress and real activity. The tempest rages, the sea with its bewitching mystery lifts itself in white and mossy ridges. The boats that ride at anchor are in danger of

being driven on the rocky shore. Men gather, women wonder, children look on from afar, and, light of foot and quick of hand, crews man the small craft and wrestle with the waves. Oars creak and bend and break, but still they face the storm. The boats are reached and finally amidst seething mass of mossy sea, are beached secure. What quickness of hand and body, what consciousness of power, what unity of aim, brought their task to a close! The sea demanded, we responded. Yes, the sea and the land are ours and we are theirs.

Our country is threatened and insulted. Some say, 'What have you Highlanders to fight for?' A rich inheritance—an inheritance which money can never buy. Our native land, the very spouse of our being, shall never be polluted by German hordes. She called us to defend and guard the pure shrine of her being. And we responded gloriously and shall respond. We could do no other and remain Highlanders and true to ourselves. We hear our hills of home calling us, calling us to be true to what they have been giving us of courage and truth and power for generations back. The Highlands answered their king and country's call better than any other part, but those who know do not wonder. . . .

War is declared. It is the morning of the muster call—calm and still. The 'boys' are gathered at the village hall, wonder and wistfulness in every face. They are one with their native isle in all its life and spirit. They are ready to march to the boat which is to carry them over the sea to the war. One word more. The Pilot of the Spirit stepped forward and uttered their wish. 'We want to sing':—

'I to the hills will lift mine eyes,
from whence doth come mine aid.
My safety cometh from the Lord
who heaven and earth hath made.'

We sang, we felt, we understood.

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strong in the history of his race. Men, like those ancient chiefs of Gaul whom Alexander the Great tried, asking who of all men they feared the most. 'We fear no man; the only thing we fear is that the heavens may fall on us some day and crush us.' Anything human they could face and fight, and overcome, or fall in the attempt. These men at the Front are strong through what their country and their homes have made them. Yes, their hills and their homes. 'Not much there to fight for,' the ignoble tell us. Bleak and barren lands and much of it not ours. Thatched houses and smoky dwellings. Ah! but our homes—the centre of our life and inspiration. In a foreign land we think of them all and thank God for the privilege of guarding such homes and what they stand for.

Many a poor black cottage is there
 Grimy with peat smoke
 Sending up in the evening air
 Purest blue incense
 While the low music of psalm and prayer
 Rises to Heaven.

The Highlanders rallied to their king and country's call—rushed from rocky heights and sea-washed, barren isles, from far colonies and foreign lands. They rallied best of all Britannia's sons. Do people wonder? Only those who know not the spirit of our land and our native Gaelic hearts.

GRAZING AND AGRESTIC CUSTOMS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

(*Continued from p. 148*)

Intermediate Run-Rig

THE low-lying district of Iocar, 'nether,' is a narrow strip lying across from sea to sea on the extreme north end of South Uist. It is bounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by a large farm. This district comprehends

nine townlands, and an aggregate of eighty-eight crofters. Each of these crofters has a distinct croft of his own in his townland, and a share in the arable land common to the whole crofters of the district.

The crofts of the townlands lie towards the middle of the district. On the east, between the ragged townlands and the Minch, lies a moor interspersed with rocks, bogs, and water. Where the land is not rock it is heath, where not heath it is bog, where not bog it is black, peaty, shallow lake, and where not lake it is a sinuous arm of the sea, winding, coiling, and trailing its snake-like forms into every inconceivable shape, and meeting one with all its black slimy mud in the most unexpected places. The crofters of the district send cattle here in spring and early summer, if driven by necessity from want of provender, not otherwise. The moss, particularly at one place, contains much sundew, *Drosera rotundifolia*, and this the people affirm causes red water—Gaelic, bun dearg—in their cattle. The various names the old Highlanders had for this plant indicate that they understood its carnivorous nature before Darwin's discovery. The plant was called Lus a' Ghadmuin, in reference to its qualities as a hair wash, Lus an Deoghail, from its sucking qualities, and Lus an Dioglain, from its titillating, tickling nature. The crofters themselves cultivate no part of this moor, but numerous squatters sent and settled there do.

Between the rocky, boggy, water-logged townlands and the Atlantic is an extensive plain, locally called machair. This machair, like the moorland, is held in common by all the crofters of the district. Some portions of the machair are cultivated, some are under grazing, and much is incapable either of cultivation or grazing, being simply sterile sand.

For economic purposes, the eighty-eight crofts of the district are divided into four sections of twenty-two each. These sections or wards are presided over by constables, and the whole district is presided over by a maor.

The cultivated parts of the machair are periodically allotted among the eighty-eight crofters. This is done at Hallowmas—Gaelic, Samhuin. The scat, clar, or leob, as the undivided ground is called, is divided into four quarters.

These quarters are balloted for by the constables of the townlands for their respective constituencies. This accomplished, the constables, aided by the people, the whole supervised by the maor, subdivide their respective sections into the necessary number of rigs or ridges—Gaelic, imirean, or iomairean.

The crofters cast lots in their respective wards, and the rig which then falls to a man he retains for three years. At the end of that time the whole cultivation is again let out in grass, and fresh ground broken in as before.

During summer and autumn, the flocks of the whole community graze over these machairs, herded by one or two herdsmen as occasion requires.

While each crofter sends more or less stock to the district grazing of the machair, he probably grazes fewer or more cows and horses on the uncultivated portions of his croft at home. These are tethered or tended by a member of the crofter's family.

There being no fences in the district of Iocar, except those built by the late Rev. Father James Macgrigor, the gaunt cattle and horses of the crofters roam at will when the crops are secured. In their intense struggle for existence, these crofters keep far more stock than their crofts can at all adequately maintain. They do not act upon their own proverb, 'Is fearr aon laogh na da chraicionn,' One calf is better than two skins. They give the food to their cattle and horses that they so sorely need for themselves. Considering the quantity and quality of their land, that the cottars living upon them are nearly as numerous as the crofters themselves, while many of these keep nearly as much stock, that practically they support their own poor,

and several other considerations that must be taken into account, probably these crofters pay four times the rent paid by the large farms; not that the large farms are under-rented; that as a whole they are not. That the Iocar crofters exist at all is only an evidence of the tenacity of their race. As one of themselves said—‘We take a deal of killing, or we would have been killed out long ago.’

Of the dykes built by Mr. Macgrigor no praise is too good. Mr. Macgrigor was the priest of probably the most depressed congregation in Scotland. Yet during his incumbency of over forty years, he showed a more admirable example to the people how to improve their crofts than all the proprietors, factors, and tacksmen put together. He built several miles of the most excellent enduring stone dykes round and across his croft, while it is computed that more stone is hid underground in drains made by him than appears in these dykes. And all these stones, together with those that went to build his chapel, chapel-house, and outhouses, Mr. Macgrigor quarried from the rocky hillocks and erratic boulders that literally studded the face of the land when he came to the place. This land, so well laid out in parks, is now equal to any in the Western Isles for cropping and grazing.

Mr. Macgrigor lived on the plainest fare in order to improve his place. He personally superintended the digging and the filling up of every drain, the building of every dyke, and the constructing of every house, while nothing delighted him so much as to see boulders and rocks breaking down before his fire, gunpowder, and crowbars.

The good deeds that this poor priest accomplished above and below ground, and as a skilful medical man among all denominations, and in social life, are marvellous. Nor are they ‘all interred with his bones.’ Mr. Macgrigor was the last professor in the Catholic College of Lismore. In that island he is still remembered.

Mr. Macgrigor was warmly loved and welcomed wherever he went, and nowhere more warmly than by the

excellent family of the then minister of the parish, the Rev. Roderick Maclean. Mr. Maclean, being an excellent classic, as well as an excellent man, read from the Greek and Hebrew texts to the last. He and Mr. Macgrigor were warm friends, and perhaps no more graceful act was ever done by the minister of one denomination to that of another than was done by the parish minister to the priest. The then factor was depriving Mr. Macgrigor of his croft and confiscating his improvements. The minister of the parish, the only man who could do so with safety, used his good offices with the absentee proprietor, and Mr. Macgrigor, to the relief of every person, was let alone.

A subsequent factor nearly took the place from Mr. Macgrigor's successor, not because this lamb himself was accused of disturbing the water, but because the factor alleged, erroneously however, that another lamb of the same kind, in a distant fold, was. Better counsel prevailed, however.

These and similar cases show the need of security against arbitrary evictions at the hands of men whose own despotic will is their law. When men so offenceless, so respected and beloved by the whole community, so narrowly escaped, what chance had obscure crofters who had no one to speak for them?

What improvements on lands or on houses can be expected under such conditions, and in the absence of proprietors or proprietrixes if misled, however well meaning?

Dr. Alexander Macleod, commonly called 'An Dotair Ban' from his fair hair, was factor over the South Uist estates for a few years. During his altogether too brief factorship, Dr. Macleod conceived and executed many schemes of great originality and utility for the improvement of the estates. Among other things he placed stones along the strand for growing sea-weed; he planted bent, Gaelic, muran, over hundreds of acres of sterile sands that are now smiling machairs; and he cut canals—Gaelic, ligeadh—from lakes to the sea, whereby he drained vast

tracts of land hitherto under water. On these canals he placed ingeniously constructed self-acting flood-gates, to let out the fresh and to keep out the salt water.

Instead of draining the estates of their money, like others, Dr. Macleod endeavoured to drain them of their water, while the many wonderful improvements he effected over these estates testify to his success, and indicate what the estates would have become under his management.

When Colonel Gordon of Cluny heard of his death, he wept, though not much given to weeping, and said :—‘ I have had many halfpins, but never a whole factor except Dr. Macleod.’

The people of the Western Isles still speak with admiration of Dr. Macleod’s head and heart, and of his medical skill.

The people of the Gordon estates had great faith in the ability and integrity of Mr. James Drever, now of Orkney, for the improvement of the impoverished estates and people, and they still regret his resignation of the factorship.

NORTH UIST

All the crofter land in North Uist, except that of three farms, is held and worked on the Intermediate System of Run-Rig. This system has been described in South Uist. The three farms in question are those of Hosta, Caolas Paipil, and Heisgeir. These three are still used and worked entirely on the Run-Rig System, and probably they are the only examples now remaining in Scotland, if not in the British Isles, of this once prevalent system of holding the land and tilling the ground. And, perhaps, it is in the fitting order of things that these, the last lingering foot-steps of this far-travelled pilgrim from the eye of day, should here sink down on the bosom of endless night, where the last rays of the setting sun sink and disappear in the mysterious fading horizon beyond. But this is a practical age, and these are day dreams. I am no advocate for the

retention of a system now effete, and yet I cannot help heaving a sigh of regret on seeing a system once and for ages, the land system of millions of the human race, now disused, discarded, and disowned, disappearing, and for ever, on the shores of those eerie Western Isles, washed by the Atlantic tide, whose waves pour their dirge-like strains over the dying, while the voice of Celtic Sorrow wails on the lonely ear of Night—

Cha till, cha till, cha till mi tuille !

I return, I return, I return nevermore !

The townlands of Heisgeir, Caolas Paipil, and Hosta are worked alike. The first contains ten, the second six, and the third four tenants.

These three farms were of old occupied by one tenant in each. When they were let, one after another, some years ago to small tenants, these new tenants adopted the Run-Rig System in its entirety, as that best adapted to the circumstances of their position. Nor must they be condemned in this without taking all the circumstances of their position into consideration. Moreover, these men are probably as well qualified to judge of their own requirements as any person likely to sit in judgment upon them.

Heisgeir

Heisgeir is a low-lying sandy island in the Atlantic. It is three miles in length, and a mile and a third in breadth at its broadest. When the tide is in, the island is divided into three by two fords that cross it ; while beyond it lies the Island of Seiley, separated by a strait a third of a mile wide and which never dries.

Heisgeir lies four and a half miles from North Uist, to which it belongs.

An isthmus connected the island of Heisgeir with the mainland of North Uist. The isthmus was called Aoi, as similar places are still called. But, partly through the gradual subsidence of the land, and partly owing to the

gradual dislodgment of the friable sand forming the isthmus, the isthmus by degrees gave way to fords, and the fords broadened into a strait four and a half miles wide and four fathoms deep. Tradition still mentions the names of those who crossed these fords last, and the names of persons drowned in crossing.

That the heavy Atlantic surf, ceaselessly beating against a bank of friable sand should ultimately destroy it is only natural. The process is going on at various places along the West Coast. I know men who ploughed and reaped fields now under the sea.

The island of Heisgeir is called Heisgeir nan Cailleach—‘Heisgeir of the Carlins.’ A community of nuns in connection with Iona lived here. These good nuns lived there far into Reformation times, and only died out from natural decay. The site of their house was pointed out to me by a lonely old woman who lived on the spot, and who, from her aged appearance, might almost have been the last remaining link between them and us.

Divided by a strait a third of a mile wide, and beyond Heisgeir proper, is Heisgeir nam Manach—‘Heisgeir of the Monks.’ The whole extent, rocks included, is half a mile long and half a mile wide. A monastery stood in the olden times where the lighthouse now stands. And I think it is but simple justice to the memory of those good monks of old to believe that they were actuated from pure motives of humanity to build their house on that wild bare bluff to warn passing vessels of their danger. The lighthouse serves the same purpose now.

This is the nearest island to Saint Kilda, and is known to mariners as Monach, but to the natives as Seiley—Seal-isle, from the Norse. Before the lighthouse was built the island and the rocks around it were much frequented by seals. They have now deserted the place. Shipping is indebted to Mr. John Macdonald, Newtown, for having drawn the attention of the Lighthouse Commissioners to the need of a lighthouse on this highly dangerous coast.

One summer day long ago, all the men and women in Heisgeir went to Seiley to shear sheep. Having landed their wives on Seiley, the men went to a tidal rock near hand to kill seals. In their hurry to club the seals on the rock they omitted to secure their boat properly, and the boat drifted away before the wind. The women had no boat with which to rescue their husbands, and the tide was flowing rapidly. The cries of the distressed women were heard by a woman on the opposite side of the strait. End by end this brave woman took down from above water-mark a large boat and pulled it across to her agonised sisters. But alas, too late! The Atlantic waves rose mountains high, as they can rise only round this coast, and the men were swept off the rock one by one and drowned before the eyes of their wives. Some of the wives lost their reason, some their health and strength, and died broken-hearted. Such is the tradition in the place.

The flesh of the seal is called carr in Gaelic. The flesh of the whale is also called carr, but the flesh of no land animal is. It would be curious to trace the cause of this distinction.

The people of Uist used to eat seals. One of their proverbs is—

Is math am biadh femanaich
Aran seagail agus saill roin.

Good food it is for sea-weed worker,
Rye bread and blubber of seal.

The seal blubber was cut into long thin strips. These were placed on a table. A board, with heavy weight on the top, was placed over the strips of blubber to press out the oil. The people's tastes have changed, and they do not now eat seals. Probably the monks of Monach used seal flesh for their table, and seal oil for their beacon lights.

The hapless Lady Grange lived in Heisgeir before she was sent to Saint Kilda.

(To be continued.)

THE CELTIC CHURCH IN ITS RELATIONS
WITH PAGANISM¹

W. J. WATSON, M.A., LL.D.

OF Celtic paganism we know in one way a good deal, and in another way but little. The external facts are fairly obvious ; the private beliefs and their practical working are, as in the case of most religions, difficult to ascertain, and the difficulty is increased by the circumstance that all old Gaelic literature, pagan though it might be in origin, has been written down by scribes who were Christians. These pious scribes undoubtedly edited their material. Here is an instance of such editing, imperfect and naïve, as we should think. An old Irish prayer for long life begins thus :—

I invoke the seven daughters of the sea, [Treathain],
who fashion the threads of the sons of long life :
May three deaths be taken from me !
May three periods of age be granted to me !
May seven waves of good fortune be dealt to me !
Phantoms shall not harm me on my journey,
in flashing corslet without hindrance !
My fame shall not perish !
Let old age come to me ! death shall not
come to me till I am old !

That, you will I think agree, is a thoroughly pagan invocation. The seven daughters of Triton sitting in *Tír fo thuinn*, spinning fate for men, is part of the old mythology. Yet the prayer ends thus :—

May the grace of the Holy Spirit be upon me !
Domini est salus (ter) ; Christi est salus (ter).
Super populum tuum, Domine, benedictio tua.

The scribe, in preserving for us this venerable relic of paganism has sained it : he has made the sign of the cross over it. Here we have the keynote of the attitude of the

¹ A lecture delivered at the opening of the Celtic Class in the University of Edinburgh. Session 1915-16.

Church to a whole department of pagan beliefs. We may compare the procedure of Columba in the cases of the two aged men, Emchat in Glen Urquhart, and Artbranan in Skye. Both of these were pagans who had preserved their *naturale bonum* throughout their whole lives up to extreme old age, in view of which Columba makes haste to baptize them, and on the completion of the rite they die. The rite of baptism turns the pagan natural goodness into Christian goodness. It is not surprising to find considerable confusion of what is pagan and what is Christian in writing, in belief, and in practice, nor is it always easy to distinguish the one from the other.

I have said that we know something of the externals of Gaelic paganism. In Ireland from the frequent references in Irish literature, we may reasonably conclude that the old gods were still in vogue about the time when Christianity was introduced in the fifth century. These early gods go under the general name of Tuatha De Danann, and correspond in the main to the gods of Greece and Rome: they are the gods of an Aryan people. They have an Allfather, *oll-athair*, the Dagda or good god. Lug is their god of light and varied accomplishments. Manannan mac Lir is the god of the sea: the sea is his wife, and the waves in storm are called *mong mna Manannan*, the tresses, locks, or the mane of Manannan's wife. The god of love is Aengus, son of the Dagda. There are goddesses also, notably Brigit, daughter of the Dagda, the goddess of wisdom, of medicine and of metal work, and the fierce war goddess Bodb (Gaulish Boduos) or the Mórrigan or Macha. It is not necessary for our purpose to continue the enumeration. We have no specific information as to the attitude of the Church to them. It would appear, however, that the Christian saint Brigit, the 'Mary of the Gael,' owed much of her renown to her name, which served her as heir to the veneration paid to the pagan goddess. It is not impossible, in view of the well-established Celtic doctrine of re-birth, that Brigit the saint was regarded by the people as a reincarnation of Brigit the

goddess. The memory of the old gods, or at least the tales concerning them, lasted right through the ages, till in the middle of the sixteenth century we find the complaint of John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles, that composers and writers of Gaelic prefer to shape and to dress up vain, lying, wordly tales about the Tuatha De Danann and the sons of Mile and Fionn mac Cumhail than to take as their subject the faithful words of God and the perfect ways of the truth.

The gods of the Tuatha De Danann were more than local deities ; their cult appears to have been national. But as in Gaul, Greece, and elsewhere, there were also tribal gods and local gods. Of the tribal gods we know little. It has been supposed, not unreasonably, that a number of ancient Irish septs derive from an ancestor, or more often ancestress, of divine origin. In the heroic tales both Cuchullin of Ulster and Ailill of Connacht (as well as others) use the asseverative formula, 'I swear by the gods by whom my tribe swear,' 'I swear by the gods of my tribe.' In the saga of Bricriu's feast, we read that at a moment when Cuchullin proposed to exert himself to the utmost, 'his folk of might, and those whom he worshipped' came to his help. Such references to worship are extremely rare, and they may have been suppressed deliberately. It has been remarked that in Greece long after the cult of the great gods, Zeus, Poseidon Athene, and the others, had fallen into disuse, the cult of the lesser and strictly local divinities, spirits of the hills, woods, rivers, and fountains and such, continued active. It was with them that the people had to do all along directly and intimately ; they formed the bulk of the private religion of the individual. Often, indeed, though that does not concern us here, the great god is, to begin with, a local divinity, or the local divinity is a great god localised, restricted to a particular spot. In Ireland and in Scotland it is plain that local divinities were exceedingly common, and had a great hold over the minds of the people. There were, to begin with, the *aes sídhe*, the folk of earth-mounds or fairy hillocks (our *sídhean*, or, in the north, *cathair*), the

elves, who according to tradition were really the Tuatha De Danann who had retreated beneath the earth when defeated by the Milesians. Certain of the great gods were indeed located in the great sepulchral mounds of New Grange and other places, but the *sídhe* are so widely distributed that it is more likely they were to begin with *dei terreni*, earth gods. However that may be, the belief in them was real, active, and general, and it is very far from having died out yet either in Ireland or in Scotland.

But besides the elves, there were countless local deities or demons of flood, field, and mountain. They or their successors and representatives are still, or were very recently, well known to us in Scotland as *gruagach*, *uruisg*, *neithich*, *cailleach na h-abhann*, et hoc genus omne. The nymphs connected with certain rivers are still remembered, such as *Cuachag*, the goddess of the river of Glen Cuaich, Inverness-shire, who appears when the Glen changes hands; and *Eiteag*, the deity of Loch Etive, who haunts Gleann Salach near Inveresragan. We feel very close to river worship when Adamnan informs us that the river Lochdia (now *Lòchaidh*) means Nigra Dea, Black Goddess. Both in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, and in the ancient *Life of St. Patrick*, we are told expressly of wells that were worshipped as gods. The people with whom Columba had to do in Scotland, and with whom Patrick had to do in Ireland, lived in an atmosphere thick with demons, to whose agency they ascribed natural phenomena, such as winds, as also illnesses and accidents of the most trifling kind. This state of matters is sufficiently indicated by Adamnan when near the beginning of the *Life* he writes: 'He alone by the assistance of God expelled from this our island innumerable hosts of malignant spirits, whom he saw with his bodily eyes assailing himself, and beginning to bring deadly distempers on his monastic brotherhood.' It is to be noted that Columba and his biographer Adamnan, who wrote about one hundred years or less after his death, felt no doubt whatever as to the existence of these spirits. They believed

in them just as much as their contemporaries believed, but their attitude to them was very different. This attitude is best illustrated by two examples from Adamnan. A young lad, Columbanus Ua Briuin, in Iona, on his way home from the milking, carrying on his back a vessel of new milk, and passing the little cell where St. Columba was writing, asked him to bless his burden. The saint did so, making the sign of the cross, whereupon the air was agitated, the bar which fastened the lid of the pail leaped from its position, the lid fell, and the milk was spilled. The lad laid down the vessel and kneeled in prayer. 'Rise up, Columbanus,' said the saint, 'thou hast acted negligently in thy work to-day, in as much as thou didst not banish the demon that lurked in the bottom of the empty vessel by forming on it the sign of the cross of our Lord before the milk was poured into it; and now, as thou seest, being unable to bear the power of that sign, he has quickly fled in terror, troubled the whole vessel in every corner, and spilled the milk.' The other example is that of the fountain in the province of the Picts which foolish men worshipped as a god. Those who drank of it or washed therein went home leprous or blind, or otherwise suffering. The saint went up to the fountain, to the glee of the Druids whom he had often sent away vanquished and confounded, and who thought that he would suffer like others. But Columba raised his hand and invoked the name of Christ, washed his hands and feet, and then with his companions drank of the water which he had blessed. From that day the demons left the fountain, and instead of causing diseases, it cured them. Such was the procedure of Columba. Believing in the existence of demons, he believed also that the demons were subject to the power of God, and that on the invocation of the holy name of Christ, and making the sacred sign, the demons were powerless.

The pagan method of dealing with these troublesome spirits, and with the unseen world generally, was by means of magic formulae and incantations, a specimen of which, as I suppose, we had already. But while it was in the power

of any man to adopt the Christian method of prophylaxis, the pagan method was by no means thus readily available. The methods of dealing with spirits were known only to the initiated, in fact to the Druids, who were the recognised official intermediators between the unseen powers and the individual or the state. The position and importance of the Druids is perhaps not altogether appreciated, and an understanding of these is quite essential to an understanding of the history of the early Celtic Church. It is in fact the very kernel and essence of our present subject.

For Druidism in pagan Alba, our best, and indeed only authority, is Adamnan, ninth Abbot of Hy, born 624, died 704. Columba, whose life he wrote, was active in Hy from 563 to 597. Adamnan's statements are of special authority because of his comparative nearness in time to the events he describes, and his quite exceptional advantages, as he himself narrates, for obtaining reliable information about the great Columba. What then can we learn from him as to the position and functions of the Druids of Alba ?

When Columba visited King Brude mac Maelcon at Inverness in 565, the most influential personage at court was beyond question the Druid Broichan, who is described as King Brude's *nutricius*, or foster-father (Gael. *oide*). The relation of foster-father to foster-son (*oide* to *dalta*) was well understood as the closest that could exist. Broichan was the king's chief adviser, on whose loyalty he relied completely, and whose guidance he would follow most readily. The Saint and the Druid were enemies from the first, and two instances of their antagonism are recorded. Broichan possessed a female Scotie (.i. Irish) slave, whom he refused to liberate at Columba's request. The Saint at once threatened him with sudden death, and proceeding to the river Nesa took therefrom a white pebble, saying to his companions, 'Behold this white pebble by which God will effect the cure of many diseases among this heathen nation.' He then announced that Broichan, having had a sudden and terrible visitation, was already at the point of death.

At the words, two riders came from the king begging him to cure his foster-father Broichan; whereupon Columba sent two of his people with the pebble which he had blessed, saying, 'If Broichan promise to set the maiden free, then immerse this stone in water and let him drink from it, and he shall be instantly cured; but if he break his vow, he shall die that instant.' The captive was at once handed over to the messengers, and the Druid recovered. The other incident can be related more briefly. When Columba with his train had been some time at Inverness, Broichan impolitely asked when he proposed to leave; and on being informed that they were to sail down Loch Ness in three days, declared that on that day he would cause darkness and an unfavourable wind. He did so, but Columba nevertheless, after calling on Christ, embarked, with the result that at first his boat ran against the wind with great speed, and soon the wind turned in their favour.

From this narrative it will be seen that Columba, according to his biographer, succeeded completely in imposing his will on Broichan, literally putting the fear of death on him, and secondly, in discrediting him and his science not only with Brude, but with the public. Of the other references to Druids in the *Life* one has been quoted already, in connection with the story of the poisonous fountain. We are perhaps to infer that the Druids knew the formula of the fountain. A third is the occasion when at Inverness some Druids attempted to prevent Columba and his company from chanting their evening hymns outside the fortifications. The Saint began to sing the 44th Psalm with a voice that sounded so wonderfully loud, like thunder, that king and people were struck with terror. The fourth and last instance is that of the family, husband, wife, children and domestics (*familiares*), who became converted to Christianity, and soon thereafter one of the sons died. The Druids upbraided his parents and extolled their own gods as more powerful than the God of the Christians (implying that the death was a 'judgment'). The Saint, after earnest prayer,

called on the dead man in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to arise, and the man was restored to life.

Our earliest authority for Druidism in Ireland is the Book of Armagh, written from older materials in the early part of the ninth century, that is, about four hundred years after St. Patrick (*ob.* 463), whose life it records. Here also the Druids are Patrick's most formidable opponents. At the court of Loegaire mac Neill, high king of Ireland, at Tara, there were two or three chief Druids who acted as the king's councillors, prophets, and enchanters. The full account of Patrick's dealing with them may be read in *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, edited by Dr. W. Stokes. There it will be seen how the king, whose daughter was fostered by one of the Druids, acts on the advice of the Druids, with whom rests the initiative. One of the Druids at Patrick's word is raised into the air and dashed in pieces, and when the king proposes to avenge him, darkness came over the sun, and there was a great earthquake and trembling of weapons. On another occasion an ambush is laid for Patrick and his companions, but a cloak of darkness was cast over them so that the heathen saw, as it were, deer going by. Another time, Patrick and the Druids have a contest in the plain round about Tara. The Druids bring deep snow on the plain, but cannot put it away for twenty-four hours. Patrick blessed the plain, and the storm vanished. The Druid sends darkness and cannot dispel it. The darkness vanishes at Patrick's blessing. In the last contest one of the Druids is burned alive, but Patrick's chasuble which was about him was not even singed. Ultimately two of the remaining Druids believe and are baptized.

If, then, we accept the statements of the biographers of St. Patrick and St. Columba, we observe that both in Alba and in Erin the position and the character of the Druids is similar. Further information from early sources can be had from the ancient Irish literature. In the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* and other tales of the Ultonian heroic cycle, the Druid Cathbad bears the same relation to the king Conchobur

as Broichan does to Brude. Conchobur is Cathbad's *dalta* or foster-son. Cathbad sits in the place of honour by the king's shoulder. In the event of extraordinary or ominous happenings, he is consulted and interprets. Further, it is the rule that in council the king does not speak before the three chief Druids. Cathbad, the chief Druid, is head of a school. 'A hundred active men were with him, learning magic from him. That is the number that Cathbad used to teach.' This is quite in the manner of the Gaulish Druids. One of the pupils asked of him for what this day should be good. Cathbad said that a warrior should take arms therein whose name should be over Ireland for ever for deed of valour, and whose fame should continue for ever. Cuchullin, then seven years of age, heard this and came to Conchobar to ask for arms, and got his wish. Then Cathbad, on coming to know of this, said to Conchobar, 'That is not lucky for his mother's son'; and went on, 'it is certain that he will be famous and renowned who takes arms on this day; but he will be short-lived only.' Then said Cuchullin, 'Provided I be famous, I am content though I were but one day in the world.' In the tale of the Sons of Usnach, Cathbad foretells that the wife of Fedlimid the steward will have a daughter through whom the greatest harm will come to Ulster. One of the most famous Druids was Mogh Ruith of Munster, who was contemporary with Cormac mac Airt in the third century. On one occasion Cormac invaded Munster, and consulted his Druids, specialists from Alba, as to the best plan of campaign. They replied that the surest and speediest way of reducing the Munster men was to dry up all the wells and streams, which they did by spells and incantations. The King of Munster's Druids being helpless against them, word was sent for Mogh Ruith, who lived in a small island (now Valencia) off the west coast of Kerry, who came and relieved the need of the men of Munster, and thereafter by an extraordinary display of science completely defeated Cormac's Druids in a contest of fires, and finally by blowing a Druidic breath on them

turned them to stone. For these services he received a grant of the land which now forms the district of Fermoy in Cork. In the historical tale of the expulsion of the Deisi from Meath, a prominent part is played by Dill, the blind Druid of the men of Ossory, whose formidable ability is outwitted by Ethne the Decian princess fosterling, and the Decian Druids, who are his own *dalta*.

For our purpose it is unnecessary to cite further details. From what has been said it appears what sort of position was held by the Druids. We see them above all as instructors and advisers of the kings—the king of the Picts, the high king of Ireland, the king of Ulster, the king of Munster, and of the tribes of Ossory and the Deisi. They are proficient in the ‘science’ of the time, which consists in a mastery over the unseen world. Thus they can control the elements, and they can see into the future. They are the bulwarks of their tribe or kingdom in war. There is evidence that there were schools to which intending Druids resorted. Undoubtedly they were munificently rewarded for their services. In all this there are, it may be remarked in passing, strong points of resemblance with the accounts we have of the Druids of Gaul. It has been freely said that there is no evidence that the insular Druids possessed a regular organisation, but while we may admit that there is little direct evidence, I imagine that there is strong presumptive evidence that the Irish and Scottish Druids formed an organised corporation, admission to which depended, among other things, on a course of training. It would appear that every political entity from the little sept up to the kingdom had its official Druids, who to a very large extent determined matters of policy. As regards the individual tribesman, there must have been numerous occasions when he also had recourse to the Druid, not, we may take it, empty-handed.

When, therefore, the early clerics attacked the Druids, and sought to discredit them by every means in their power,

they knew well what they were doing. The power of the Druids was the key to the whole position, and what the clerics attempted and achieved was nothing less than to step into the shoes of the Druids, to occupy the position from which the letter had been dislodged. We have seen the first stages of this process exemplified in the case of St. Patrick and St. Columba. The next stage is that the cleric supplants the Druid as the king's chief adviser under the title of *anmchara*, soul-friend. The struggle between Druids and clerics must have been extremely bitter, and it was apparently short. The two could not co-exist together, and it seems that Druidism as an organisation became extinct in a short time. It is instructive to note that the early Church in all probability marked down the Ogham script as distinctively Druidic and pagan, and did their utmost to arrest its progress. Professor John MacNeill points out that practically all the personages commemorated by the Ogham inscribed stones are pagans. Professor Macalister observes that in one half of the Kerry Oghams the term following on *mucoi* has been effaced. Professor MacNeill acutely suggests the reason of this effacement, which was deliberate, to have been that the term following *mucoi* is the eponymous ancestor, who was frequently a mythic divinity. The distribution of the Oghams shows, as Professor MacNeill points out, an arrested development, and the arresting causes in his opinion were the rise and spread of Christianity, and the concomitant spread of Latin learning and the Latin alphabet. In Scotland we have the curious phenomenon that so far as known all our Ogham inscribed stones belong to the east with the solitary exception of one in the island of Gigha off the west coast of Kintyre. This suggests pagan influence from Ireland on our east coast during the period of Ogham activity, *i.e.* about 400 A.D., while the fewness of our Ogham inscriptions suggests further that here also the Ogham cult was arrested. It is no doubt owing to this well-founded hatred of everything relating to Druidism that so little definite

has been preserved as to the beliefs of the Druids and their relations to the gods.

The conflict with Druidism has, I believe, influenced and coloured the account of the miracles ascribed to St. Columba, and to other early saints. We know that saintly miracles are often copies of the miracles recorded in Scripture; the source of their inspiration is obvious. Now the miracles ascribed to Columba are most of them decidedly not of this class. Take, for instance, the stake which he presented to a poor man in Lochaber, and which had the miraculous property wherever it was set of impaling wild animals. This is quite Druidic, reminding one of the prophecy about Cuchullin's spear, that it would kill a king unless it were given when demanded. It was Columba's business to outdo the Druids on their own ground: the sort of miracle demanded of him was the sort of miracle which the Druids, in the estimation of the people, could alone perform. If the Druids had power over the elements, still more had Columba. He could sail against a contrary wind, and turn it into a favourable one. Storms at sea abate at his prayer. Water will not wet a book written by his hand, even a fire had no power over St. Patrick's chasuble. A lump of salt blessed by Columba is uninjured though the house in which it was is burned down; nor did the fire venture to touch the two uprights from which the lump of salt was suspended. He is also a prophet and a clairvoyant. The fili, indeed, had his pagan *imbus forosnai*, knowledge that enlightens, or discovers everything that he wishes to manifest. 'He chews a bit of the red flesh of a pig or a hound or a cat, and puts it on a flat stone behind the door-valve, and sings an incantation upon it, and offers it to idol gods and calls them to him, and leaves them not on the morrow; and chants then over his two palms and calls idol gods to him that they should not disturb his sleep, and puts his two palms round his two cheeks and falls asleep. . . . Patrick abolished that, and the *teinm-láida*, and he bore witness that whosoever should perform them should

neither be of heaven or of earth, for it is a denial of baptism.' Of Columba his biographer says that among his miracles was his foretelling the future by the spirit of prophecy, and making known to those who were present what was happening in other places. Nay, by some divine intuition and through a wonderful expansion of his inner soul, he beheld the whole universe drawn together and laid open to his sight, as in one ray of the sun.

As to Columba's influence in securing victory in battle, we may take his appearance in vision to King Oswald before his fight with Catlon, king of the Britons, with the assurance that Oswald would be the conqueror.

It would take too long to consider Columba's miracles in detail from this point of view, but I think there is something to be said for it. The point was to convince rulers and people that anything whatever possible to a Druid by means of his magic science could be done and outdone by the man who believed in Christ and acted in His name. We are perhaps better able now to understand the full force of the sentiment in the Old Irish hymn ascribed to Columba :—

is e mo drúí Críst mac Dé.

He who believes in Christ has no need of resorting to a Druid to buy his protection by means of spell or charm. The power of Christ working for him is effectual when His name is invoked to put evil spirits to flight and secure all other good things. 'Christ is my illuminator, my prophet, my guide, and my instructor.'

This point of view was likely to appeal to the people practically, and it did so. The Church, however, exacted, or at any rate received, a fee or present at baptism. Thus in Agallamh nan Senorach, when the hero Cailte, who has been converted by Patrick, has been baptized with his nine comrades, Cailte gives Patrick a ridgy mass of gold in which were three times fifty ounces, as a fee for the baptism of himself and the nine. This was, of course, on a heroic scale, but exemplary.

It would be interesting to know to what extent the Church became heir not only to the influence of the pagan Druids, but to the patrimony of the pagan institutions. That, however, is a matter on which there seems to be little direct information available. We know, indeed, that the Celtic Church was tribal, and that the Church received grants of land among the tribe from the king, but, so far as known to me, we cannot ascertain to whom the land so gifted belonged previously. There is one term of much interest in this connection. The ancient Gauls had places set apart for tribal and intertribal meetings similar to the Norse *thing*. Caesar tells that the Druids of Gaul, at a fixed time of the year, hold a session at a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, which is reckoned the central part of Gaul. Here assemble all those who have disputes, and they obey the decision and sentences of the Druids. We know from other sources that these sacred meeting-places were called *nemeta*, a term which appears in Old Irish as *nemed*, and with us to-day *neimhidh*. In Scotland this term is not uncommon, occurring at wide intervals from Sutherland to the Forth and Clyde, but only on the east side of the country with one exception—Ros-neimhidh, Point of the Nemed, Englished Roseneath. There is one in Sutherland, two in Ross, one in Banff, one in Aberdeenshire (Deeside), one in Forfar, Perth, and Fife respectively. One of the two Ross-shire instances is above Cromarty, and according to a firm and active Cromarty tradition, the final judgment is to take place on that moor. We should like to know if there are traditions of this sort connected with the other places. All the places named Navie or Navity are known to have been Church property. The question is, were they pagan places of judgment taken over by the Church when official paganism was replaced by Christianity? My own opinion is that they were, and that from their distribution they were tribal places of meeting.

While the Church was in the early stages exceedingly bitter against the external rites of paganism, which implied

homage to heathen divinities, it did little or nothing to uproot the popular belief in the existence of such beings. More has been done, I believe, in the Highlands of Scotland within the last fifty years to destroy those ancient, perhaps even pre-Celtic beliefs, than was done from the time of Columba to 1843. The home of superstition now is not the Highlands, but the great cities. The Churchmen themselves had little difficulty in adopting or adapting a pagan custom, and no wonder. One or two examples must suffice. The rhythmical Druidic incantation or prayer for safety and preservation is exactly reflected in St. Patrick's famous hymn called *The Deer's Cry*, in virtue of which he and his train were changed, to all appearance, into deer, and so escaped their foes. The structure (but not the wording) of the hymn is pagan, its purpose is pagan, and its result is pagan. Again, in pagan Ireland one of the ways by which distress was put on a debtor to compel him to pay was by fasting at his door. When the creditor did this, the debtor was obliged also to fast and to keep to his house, the sanction of the usage being the death of one or other. In pagan times, men are mentioned as fasting on the Tuatha De Danann for luck of bounds and land, and to win great riches from them. In Christian times, men fast on God with the view of obtaining a boon. This is pure paganism. Once more, among the pagan methods of divination was one which has always appeared to me as very natural and striking. This was called *fios tuinne*, or wave knowledge. 'Nede, son of the chief Ollamh of Ireland, went to Scotland, to Eochu Echbél in Kintyre, to learn science from him. One day the lad fared forth till he was on the brink of the sea, for the poets deemed that on the brink of water it was always a place of revelation of science. He heard a sound in the wave, a chant of wailing and sadness, and it seemed strange to him. So the lad cast a spell upon the wave that it might reveal to him what the matter was. And then it was declared to him that the wave was bewailing his father Adnae, after his death.' In the tale of Cano mac Gartnain

from Skye, it is related that one day when Cano was at sea, becoming aware of somewhat, he made wave-omen, *i.e.* wave knowledge, and he saw a crimson red wave coming to him as he sat in his curach, even the blood of Illann, his chief friend in Ireland. With these instances, which are pagan, compare this. One day Colum Cille and Cainnech were on the seashore. There was a great storm on the sea. Cainnech said, 'What sings the wave?' 'Thy people,' said Colum Cille, 'that were in danger a while ago on the sea so that one of them died, and the Lord will bring him to us in the morning to-morrow, to this shore, on which we are.' This is not from Adamnan, but from the Old Irish life of Colum Cille, which supplied Adamnan with much of his material. It is instructive that he has rejected this.

But while the Celtic Church did little to repress superstitions, which indeed its own members shared, there is abundant evidence that it did good work in humanising the barbarous heathen customs which it found in practice. The saint's presence, or, in his absence, his cloak or his staff were all real protections against violence, and the church precincts formed an inviolable sanctuary. The most important service rendered to Gaelic society was by Adamnan, ninth Abbot of Hy, at the famous Convention or synod held at Tara in 697 A.D., when in the laconic words of the *Annals*: *Adamnan dedit legem innocentium populis*. This law, which was really the joint production of a large and influential assembly, is called in Gaelic *Càin Adamnan*, Adamnan's law, and it is an enactment prohibiting the use of women in war and hostings. Pitiful indeed is the account given by the Old Irish treatise on this law of the conditions of women before its enactment.

'The work which the best of women had to do was to go to battle and battlefield, encounter and camping, fighting and hosting, wounding and slaying. On one side of her she would carry her bag of provisions, on the other her babe. Her wooden pole upon her back, and it had at one end an iron hook, which she would thrust into the tress of some woman

in the opposite battalion. Her husband behind her, carrying a fence stake in his hand and flogging her on to battle. Adamnan's mother chanced on a day to come upon a battlefield. Such was the thickness of the slaughter into which they came that the soles of the women would touch the neck of another. Though they beheld the battlefield, they saw nothing more touching or pitiful than the head of a woman in one place and the body in another, and her little babe upon the breasts of the corpse, a stream of milk upon one of its cheeks and a stream of blood upon the other.' So, says the narrative, Adamnan's mother gave him no rest till he had secured the emancipation of women. Securities and bonds were given: Sun and moon and all the elements of God, Peter, Paul, Andrew, and the other apostles; Gregory, the two Ciarans, the two Cronans, etc. (we may note in passing that in the third century Conn Cedcathach's sureties to Fionn are the provincial kings and the Druid Cithruadh with his Druids). The law was attested by forty-one clerics, including the Bishop of Rosmarkie, and fifty kings, the last mentioned of whom is Bruide mac Derilei, king of the Picts. The clerics' names come first. It was the charter of women, not only as regards warfare, but in other matters. There are not wanting proofs that the Celtic Church did a great work in raising the standard of morality and the sanctity of the family. It was none too soon that Scotland and Ireland came under its influence. The Druidical system had degenerated into black magic which sought to impose the will of the magician on the gods or demons, and therefore had no germ in it of real religion. For that heathen conception the Celtic Church substituted on the whole the idea of true religion, namely to please God by doing things that are agreeable to Him, and so grow like unto Him.

[Much material relating to this subject is collected in the Introduction to the Rev. C. Plummer's *Latin Lives of the Irish Saints*.]
W. J. W.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Place-Names of England and Wales. By the Rev. JAMES B. JOHNSTON, M.A., B.D. London: John Murray, 1915. (532 pp., 15s. net.)

This handsome volume begins with an Introduction of 83 pp., treating of the various linguistic elements encountered. Thereafter the individual names, to the number of about 5000, are dealt with in alphabetical order. As data for interpretation the oldest written forms of the names are supplied, and in addition the Welsh forms of some of the Welsh names are given. The author has devoted much time and labour to the work, and, whether we agree with his interpretation or not, we must admit that he has gone a considerable way to supplying the data on which any interpretation must be based. A good deal of scholarly and reliable work has already been done in connection with the Teutonic element, and though unfortunately there is no book that deals in a scientific way with the names of Wales, the subject has attracted the attention incidentally of some of the most capable Welsh scholars. Mr. Johnston had, therefore, a solid nucleus to start with, around which he has grouped the results of his own investigations over a period of twenty years. The work as a whole is of undoubted value. It furnishes a conspectus of the subject and an epitome of data which all investigators are bound to take into account, and for which the author ought to, and will, receive well-deserved thanks. Mr. Johnston deprecates censure for what he has left undone; but he has done so much that there should be little risk of such censure. He admits the possibility of a good many mistakes: one may say that in a work of this nature they are inevitable. They would, however, have been fewer, in the Celtic section at any rate, had the author been more deeply versed in the Celtic tongues and their difficult philology. We must, however, take Mr. Johnston as we find him: he has carried through a task of uncommon severity, which no one else has attempted, and by so doing has done his best, and not without success, to advance the study of his subject. The remarks that follow will deal only with the Celtic part of the book.

The author justly points out that in England proper, apart from Cornwall and Monmouth, the remains of the old British language, in use all over till the arrival of the Teutonic invaders in the fifth century, are at the present day surprisingly small. The provisional list which he gives contains just about 400 names. An additional list gives 20 names which in Mr. Johnston's opinion may be pre-Celtic. The first Celtic settlers in Britain are often asserted to have been of the Gadelic branch, but, as Mr. Johnston points out, there is practically no proof of this. The Ogham inscriptions of Wales and the Cornish peninsula belong undoubtedly to the later part of the Roman occupation, and it is much easier to ascribe them to the known Irish settlements of the early centuries of the Christian era in Wales, etc., than to a Gaelic-speaking community representing a contin-

uous tradition from 600 or 800 B.C. Mr. Johnston has looked without much result for Gaelic names. It is improbable that any such exist except in the very north, where there is good reason to believe Gaelic was spoken to some considerable extent in the eleventh century, and this is practically his conclusion. The Celtic element in English place-names, such as it is, is Bretonic not Gadelic. The following notes on the Celtic names are far from exhaustive.

P. 2. Ard Echdi is not 'height of the horse,' but of Echde, better known as Eochu Echbél (Horse-lipped Eochu), a famous exponent of the science of his time, who lived in Kintyre.

P. 5. 'Skeat will not admit Speen to be Lat. Spinae.' The occurrence of Spynie (thrice) and Spean in Scotland suggests the possibility of Celtic origin.

P. 10. 'Cumhann or comhann with the *mh* mute, through "eclipse" as it is called.' This is aspiration, not eclipsis. *Comhann* is not a by-form of *cumhann*, narrow; and if Glencoin in Cumberland and Glencune in Northumberland are regarded as from *cumhann*, they should not in that case be equated with Gleann Comhann, Glencoe.

P. 11. 'Axe, Esk, Exe, Usk . . . is the old Celtic *uisce*, the G. *uisge*, as in . . . usquebaugh.' The name Usk, in Welsh *Wysg*, is obscure. The Romans, as Mr. Johnston notes, spelt both Exe and Usk, *Isca*, which is doubtless the old form of Esk also, but *Isca* is certainly in Gaelic *easg*, not *uisge*. The Gaelic form of our Scottish Esks is still in use, viz. *Uisge Easg*. Whitley Stokes equated Esk and Isca rightly with O. Ir. *esc*. He also regarded it as Pictish, in the sense that Pictish was practically Old British.

P. 12. 'Deva means river': Deva means goddess. 'Dove and Dovey or Dyfi are both forms of W. *dwfr* or *dwr*, O. W. *dubr*.' This is impossible, in the light either of modern or ancient forms.

'*dwfr* is also seen as forming part of Adder, Derwent, Darwen, Kielder.' Derwent is based on **derva*, oak; W. *derw*, oak; *derwen*, oak-tree. Darwen is from the same root.

'G. *allt*, a burn': this is the meaning in modern Gaelic, but in Scottish place-names *allt* regularly means a height, precipice. Rev. C. M. Robertson informs me that in Jura *allt* is still used in common speech in the old sense.

'Welsh *gwy*, a river, probably seen in the Sutherland *uidh*.' Suth. *uidh* primarily means the slow-moving water between two lochs; a water-isthmus; from O. Norse, *eið*, isthmus. It is better spelled *aoidh*.

P. 16. 'G. *cille* . . . means graveyard before it means church': the primary meaning of *cill* is cell; then, church; the meaning of graveyard is comparatively late.

P. 60. '*din* means first a hill, and then the fort which so often crowned the hill': the truth is the other way about.

P. 68. 'Clyne, G. *clawn*, a meadow.' The parish of Clyne, Sutherland, is in G. *Sgìre chln*, where *chln* is dialectic locative of *clawn*, a slope; a meadow is *cluain*.

P. 69. 'Dr. W. J. Watson takes the ending of Rosemarkie to be G.

marenaidh.' I do not 'take the ending to be *marenaidh*': I report that Gaelic-speakers always say *Ros-marenaidh* or *Ros-mairenidh*, and on this base my interpretation.

P. 73. 'Avon . . . parallel form Aman, just as we have in Scotland both *abhuinn* and *amhuinn*, the later seen in such a Scottish name as Cramond, originally *Caer Amond*.' The spelling *amhuinn* is modern and has no historical justification. Aman is decidedly not a parallel form of Avon, the proto-Celtic form of which would be **Abōnā*, while that of Aman would be **Ambōnā*.

P. 74. 'The native Welsh name of Severn is Hafren, which the Romans turned into Sabrina.' It is not at all impossible, but on the contrary probable, that the original *s*, represented by *h* of Hafren, was sounded in Roman times. The name can hardly be separated from Irish *Sabhrann* in Cork, now R. Lee. Sabrina shows the *-in-* ending common in Celtic; *Sabhrann* suggests a primitive **Sabrōnā*. 'A common river ending is *-on*, which means nothing but stream, as in Aeron.' This is the ending seen in Gaulish *Matrona*, *Divona*. It is common in Scotland. 'Garumna, where the *-umna* is clearly the G. *amhuinn* and L. *amnis*': *amhuinn* is a ghost-word (see above). The standard spelling of Garumna is Garunna, probably from root *gar*, cry. Its nearest Scottish equivalent is the *Goirneag*, 'the little crier,' of Glen Girnag in Perthshire. The equation of Tawe, Thames, Thame, is very doubtful. Thames, *Tamēsis*, is probably from root *tam*, dark, seen in O. Ir. *temel*; Welsh *tywyll*; Scottish *Teimheil*, Tummel.

P. 76. 'The Scottish Celt rarely puts either himself or any other human being into his place-names.' This needs qualification in respect of saints' names, which are very numerous on Celtic ground in Scotland. Consider also such names as Ferindonald (twice), Inchrory (common); Dunvegan, Dunrobin, Dundonald, Machair Aonghais (Angus), etc. etc., and the numerous names connected with heroes—*e.g.* Arthur, Fionn, Diarmid, etc.

P. 94. 'Aeron R., possibly fr. *Agriona*; Kelt. goddess of war; W. *aer*, battle. W. *air* is bright, clear, whilst *-on* is contraction of *afon*, river.' The two suggestions here are mutually contradictory. The former is, we believe, by Sir E. Anwyl, and deserves the utmost respect. The history of the language shows the ending *-on* to represent early *-onā*, which of course is not a contraction of *afon* < *Abōnā*.

P. 181. 'Caerwent (Chepstow) c. 180, Venta Silurum; *-went* may be W. *gwant*, a butt, a mark'; (*g*)*went* is the Welsh form of *venta*, Celto-Latin for market-place; cf. Spanish *venta*, a hostel. The 'market' is echoed in Chepstow.

P. 184. 'Cannock Chase . . . must be that rarity a Goidelic place-name, G. and Ir. *cnoc*, a hill.' It would be easy to think of a non-Gaelic origin equally suitable to the case.

P. 185. 'Canterbury . . . in Roman times called Durovernum (W. *dwergwern*), river with the alders.' This would have been in Roman times Dubrovernum. Durovernum means 'alder fort.'

P. 186. Cardurnock, 'fort by the pebbly place.' G. *dòrnag*, means a rounded pebble; a pebbly place is *dòrnach*, as explained in P.-N. of R. and C.

P. 188. 'Carter Fell . . . contr. fr. G. *ceartachair*, a regulator, an adjuster, fit name for a lofty hill. Probably also the origin of Dhu Hear-tach lighthouse, Colonsay.' *An Dubh Hiortach* means 'the black deadly one,' from *hirt. i. bás*. The suggested derivation of Carter has more of fancy than of fitness.

P. 195. 'Chepstow, in W. Casgwent'; *gwent* is the Welsh form of *venta*, a market-place.

P. 198. 'Chevet, Cheviot; possibly G. *c(h)iabach*, bushy place; fr. *ciabh*, hair'; *ciabh*, a lock of hair, does not occur in names of places; the adj. *ciabhach*—there is no such noun—in the sense of 'bushy' is confined to hair.

P. 207. 'Clwyd, W. *clwyd*, warm; cf. Clyde.' The equation of Clwyd and Cluaidh (Clyde), early Clōta, is impossible. The former is from a root *klei*, which would appear in Gaelic as *chia*-, just as *lētōs* (for *leitōs*), gray, is in Welsh *llwyd*, and in Gaelic *liath*. Clyde, on the other hand, early Clōta for Clouta, becomes in Gaelic *Cluaidh*, and in O. Welsh *Clud* (*Clut*), just as *bōd*-, *boud*- of Boud-icca, becomes in Gaelic *buaidh*, and in Welsh *budd*. The river Clydach is in Welsh *Cleudach*, and is different from Clwyd.

P. 214. 'Corbridge, c. 380 *Ant. Itin.* Corstopitum, probably G. *corr stobach*, 'hill spur full of stumps': *stob* is a loan from English *stob*, *stab*, and is, of course, impossible in a British name of 380 A.D.

P. 235. 'Dove, etc., O. W. *dubr*': phonetically impossible. 'Duignan thinks Dove the "diving" river; O. E. *dufan*.' Consider, however, the Inverness-shire Doe (twice), G. *Dobha*.

P. 240. 'Durdans,' etc. 'Oxf. Diet. *durdan*, a var. of *dirdum*, uproar, tumult. A Sc. and North. dial. word': with *dirdum* compare Ir. *deardam*, an uproar, tumult, which seems to be the same word. If so, the borrowing is by Scots. Mr. Johnston equates Durdans with Dordnhoes of *Dom*.

Ibid. 'Durham . . . Dunelm is orig. Kelt. *dun ealm*, hill of the elms, an early loan word': elm is in early Celtic *lemos*; G. *leamh*; Welsh *llwyfn* requires a root *leim*-. I know of no proof that *elm* was borrowed into Celtic.

P. 314. 'Humber . . . prob. aspirated form of *cumber*, confluence.' Bede's *Humbra* puts this completely out of the question. Mr. Johnston here as elsewhere does not distinguish between what is possible and what is impossible.

P. 416. 'Ribble R. . . . Ptolemy Belisama, "most warlike one." The Beli- is, of course, the same root as L. *bellum*, war.' But L. *bellum* is fr. *duellum*, fr. *duo*, two. Is Celtic supposed to have developed a word for war on exactly similar lines, while all the time it possessed a good word of its own, viz. *catos*, Gael. *cath*, Welsh *cad*? Belisama may mean 'the slayer,' but the scholars who so explain it have in view the root *guel*, English *quell*, meaning (1) light, burn, (2) destroy. Cf. the *Éibhleag* near Dornoch, whence Evelix.

P. 512. 'Winchester, Ptolemy Venta . . . in W. *Caer Gwent*, fort, castle on the plain, clearing or open country.' Here again *gwent* is the Welsh form of *Venta*, a market-place.

P. 325. 'Kent, 55 B.C., Cantium. . . Cf. W. *gwyn*, *gwen* [white]. Possibly it means headland; cf. G. *ceann*, head, and Gabrosenti, O. Kelt. form of Gateshead.' In 55 B.C. the modern Welsh *gwyn* would have appeared as *vindos*, so that any connection between Cantium and W. *gwyn* is out of the question. Gaelic *ceann* is equally impossible, unless the author is prepared to claim a Gaelic element in the south of England; even then the vowel of *Cant-* would require to be *e*, and what of the *t*? Mr. Johnston appears to think that in Gabrosenti the latter part *senti* means 'head.'

So far as the Celtic names are concerned, the value of Mr. Johnston's book consists in the lists themselves, the old forms, and the occasional derivations (*e.g.* of Aeron) by Celtic scholars; except in the case of straightforward names, which bear their meaning on the surface, the author's philological equipment in Celtic is inadequate. The above criticism of course affects only a small part of the whole work, the great bulk of which is devoted to the explanation of names of Teutonic origin. W. J. W.

Poetry

Svold: A Norse Sea Battle. By S. F. B. LANE. London: David Nutt. 2s. 6d. net.

The story is told in blank verse which is unaffected and runs smoothly, and is not pitched on a level too high for the poet. In the clamour of battle Mr. Lane is at his best:—

Ever the uproar sounded in their ears,
The staggering feet, the shouts of striving men,
The rush of arrows and the grinding swords,
And the wild crash of axe on splintering shield.

This battle was fought between Olaf Tryggvason, King of Norway, and the combined fleets of King Svein of Denmark, King Olaf of Sweden, and Earl Eric. Olaf fell and all his ships were annihilated. Mr. Lane's notes are at once scholarly and exhaustive, and reveal him as a close student of Scandinavian literature and antiquities.

England Overseas. By LLOYD ROBERTS. London: Elkin Mathews. 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. Roberts is one of those English poets who show traces of the influence of contemporary Celtic verse. There are also echoes of Kipling, who is half Celtic, for his mother was a MacDonald from Skye. As most of England's patriotic poems have been written by Scotsmen, like Campbell and

Thomson and the half Scots Kipling, it is refreshing to find an Englishman (with, however, a Welsh name) singing so heartily :—

England's cliffs are white like milk,
 But England's fields are green ;
 The grey fogs creep across the moors,
 But warm suns stand between.
 And not so far from London town, beyond the brimming street,
 A thousand little summer winds are singing in the wheat.

D. A. M.

NOTES

Note on newly-found Tain Place-Names.—Some old parchments collected by the late Harry M. Taylor, once Town Clerk of Tain, and then Sheriff-Substitute, and which on his death passed to the late Dr. Taylor Innes, having been sent to me here to be read, the first taken proves to be of some interest. It is a Latin charter of 1577, and recites that Thomas Ratray, indweller (*convicinus*) of the town of Tain, grants to Alexander M'Finlay Duf lands, with buildings, viz. the west half of a croft called Croft Neganich, of old belonging to John M'Ean Orangich, extending to three or four acres (*ad seminaturam sex firloitarum hordei*) lying in the north part of the burgh, having the mound (*montem*) called the Angel Hill on the east, the common way that leads to Plaids on the west, the 'Laik' on the north, and the common way that leads to the Chapel (*sacellum*, evidently for *sacellum*) of the Blessed Duthac on the south. Also half of a croft called Croft called Clasthena Vorik, extending to about an acre or more (*quinque peckis sive majore*), having the lands of the Chaplain of the Blessed Duthac on the east, the mound called Angel Hill on the west, the burn (*torrentem seu lie Laik*) or Laik on the north ; also half share of three cottages, etc. Reddendo to the clergy of the Blessed Duthac the usual yearly rent. Witnesses, Andrew Ross and John Reid, burghers ; Donald Reid, John Moir M'Kessack and Donald Davidson, officer. Of above names, Neganich is a phonetic spelling of *na gainmhich*, 'of the sand,' i.e. 'Sand-croft.' Clasthena Vorik is *Clais nam moraich*, 'Hollow of the fishers,' or *Claisean a' mhoraich*, 'Little hollow of the fisher,' both according to Professor Watson. The Angel Hill—the origin or reason of which name is unknown—was cut away when the railway was formed, and was close to the bridge which preserves the name. The first croft, to west of it, would cover the present railway station and yard site and the adjacent part of the Links, which ground exactly answers the description of 'sandy.' The other croft to east of it lay at the mouth of a trout stream, and a place where small fishing boats could easily be sheltered or drawn up was a most likely place for the abode of a fisher or fishers. North of both was 'the burn or laik.' This is temptingly like the English 'lake,' and at the height of the tide there is—now, at any rate—an expansion a little above. But within living memory the 'way to Plaids' was still

over stepping-stones a little below the present suspension bridge, which, of course, could not be used at high water. The Gaelic for a flat stone is *leac*, and the strong plural would give just about the sound of *laik*. This place-name has not as yet been found in any other charter, and meantime the latter derivation is the likelier, especially since it is not easy to see why the English form *lake*, and not the Scottish *loch*, should have been used if the expanded sheet of water was intended. The reddendo, like those of other contemporary charters, shows us that the priests of the collegiate church still held the church property seventeen years after the Reformation. The boundary given on the east shows also that the lands now at Kirksheaf belonged to the chaplain of the Blessed Duthac. Finlay Ken, chaplain of the Blessed Duthac, occurs as a witness in the vicar's charter of 1486, but neither he nor his chaplaincy is included in the staff and revenues of the collegiate church on its constitution by the bishop's letter of 1487, so that chaplain and lands were independent of that church. In 1512 James IV. gives money separately to the church and the chapel of St. Duthus, so they were separate places of pilgrimage. Whether the chapel held any relic of the saint there is no record, but it was the provost of the church who in 1560 deposited the relics at Balnagown Castle. Last, we may note the Gaelic nickname (in original sense of ekename) of the old Crofter—Orangich, the Singer. Many others occur in old Tain charters, such as Bragoch, Mul-donycht, Rossich, Skianach—Gaelic was the current language.

W. MACGILL, Tain.

The Adventures of Léithin.—Since printing 'Eachtra Léithin'¹ I discovered another MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, which I had overlooked. It is to be found at p. 695 of H. 4. 15., and was written by one Stiabhna Righis in 1728, but he does not say from whence he copied it. It is obviously derived from a different source from that of the MSS. I used, but there is no vital difference between them. The only matters of importance are as follow: p. 132, Soininn is spelt more correctly Sionnin, but the words 'agus Cros na Macaomh air Slighe Cluana' are omitted. In the cleric's lay, l. 2, 'co' is 'gan,' l. 3, 'súd' is correctly 'sain,' l. 5, 'dhealbh' correctly for 'dhealbuidh,' l. 6, 'as' and 'do,' correctly omitted as is 'do' in next line. They spoil the metre. The poem contains the following lines:—

A cleirigh an celuine an guth-is binne na gach aonghuth.

Guth an chluig adchluinim-se · a ndruid Diobraid os an linn. Guth an chluig
adchluinim-se · Ni liom-sa nach binn.

For 'dom breith' in the penultimate rann, it reads 'nim breith.'

P. 134, l. 24, the curious word ciúnlánach is given as ciúlánach.

In Dubhchosach's lay, rann 3, this MS. reads 'a dhaimh cheannaird' for the corrupt 'cind ar chaoimh. The fourth senseless rann is omitted.

¹ *Celtic Review*, June 1915.

P. 136, l. 18, my conjecture of 'dhair' before 'móir' was nearly right, for MS. reads óg-dharaigh.

P. 137, l. 7, my conjecture about Ferta for Sosda was also right. MS. has Seasda.

In the White Blackbird's lay, rann 2, for 'Sire Magh Life' MS. reads 'sire na galaise' which I do not understand. The s is like an f. The black-bird speaks the following lines:—

'Cuimhin liom mic Mileadh go mbuaidh-do theacht go h-Eirinn fionn-fhuar. 'S gur gabhsad Eire gun fheall . Fir Bholg is Tuatha De Danann.'

'A n-aon aimsir damh-sa mar sin . idir theas is thuaidh is toir . An aimsear do bhi Luighidh na lann . seal a righe na h-Eireann.

'Ni bhfuaras ar muir na ar tír . Aithgin an laoi-si a Leithin . Ni bhfuaras oidheche mar sin . na maidion mar an maidin.'

P. 138, l. 16, for 'nóir liaide a sgéala sin,' MS. reads 'nóir ba lionmhuire do sgealuibh é sin.'

P. 138, l. 26, for 'aghaidh fhoghladh' MS. reads 'aghaidh fola,' which makes sense.

The Salmon has the adjectives 'breac ballgheal' applied to it. The first two ranns of the Salmon's lay are partly transposed and MS. reads *reimhidhe* for *rómhaigh*.

P. 140, last line, the names of Noah's sons' wives are included after 'ban,' namely 'Olla,' 'Oilfobha,' and 'Oiliobhána.'

P. 141, l. 6, for *dithchealadh* MS. reads *dithchleith*; l. 9, for *easbadh*, it reads, as I had surmised, 'easbog'; last line, for 'rinne,' MS. reads *rinneadh*.

P. 142, l. 2, after 'ar mo fhaicsin do,' MS. adds 'for san adhbhairt sin.' 'The curious word 'spreoighiocht' is written 'sporuidheacht'; l. 12, 'adeir tusa' becomes 'deirighsi'; l. 29, for 'lámhach' MS. reads, no doubt correctly, 'láthair.'

P. 143, l. 18, It agrees with the other MSS. in the apparently senseless reading 'ná sin' for 'sin 'ná,' which would make sense. The MS. adds after 'reómhaínd' in the last line the following sentence, 'gur sgriobhadh mar sin é agus gur leasuigheadh é ann sin, agus go ttugadh logha ar a n-innisin .i. an doinionn do thúrnamh ré na linn. gonadh i sin Eachtra Leithin, go nuige sin.'

DOUGLAS HYDE.

Elrick.—In vol. ix. p. 163, with reference to Dr. A. MacBain's derivation of Elrick from *eilear*, a deer walk, I pointed out that in the *Book of Deer* we have *ind elerc*, the Elrick, a form which makes it clear that *elerc* cannot be a diminutive of *eilear*. As a matter of fact, though I had not observed it at the time, *elerc* is by metathesis from Old Irish *erelc*, an ambush: *ba in fort-gidriu 7 ba hi temel dughnith Saul cona muntair intleda 7 erelca fri Dúaid*; Mil. Glosses 30*3: 'it was covertly and it was in darkness that Saul with his people used to make snares and ambushes against David.' The correct spelling of the modern Gaelic is *eileirg* (not *eileirig*).

W. J. W.

There has been a most gratifying response to the appeal made by 'An Comunn Gaedhealach' for funds for a ward for Gaelic-speaking soldiers in Woodside Military Hospital, Glasgow, well over £1400 having been subscribed, whereas £500 was the sum asked for.

A small committee has been formed in Edinburgh by the principal Scottish churches to collect funds to supply Gaelic literature to Gaelic-speaking soldiers and sailors. Subscriptions may be sent to the Very Rev. J. C. Russell, D.D., 9 Coates Gardens, the Rev. Malcolm Maclellan, D.D., 6 Polwarth Terrace, or the Rev. Donald Maclean, M.A., 1 Rillbank Crescent, Edinburgh.

A committee has also been appointed by An Comunn Gaidhealach to collect money to supply Gaelic secular literature to Gaelic-speaking soldiers and sailors. These two committees are not in any way rivals, and there is room and work for both. Readers who wish to subscribe to this part of the work should send their subscriptions to the secretary of An Comunn Gaidhealach, 108 Hope Street, Glasgow.

We would like to call attention again to the benefit which the Highlands and Islands derive from the sale of woollen goods in the depôt of the Co-operative Council of Highland Home Industries at 132 George Street, Edinburgh, and those who purchase tweeds, socks, wool, etc., there, for soldiers confer a double benefit. The hardships of this winter will be much greater in the Highlands than were those of last winter, and there is the additional burden of the enormous losses sustained by the Highland regiments.

An Comunn Gaidhealach has published *Rosg Gaidhlig—Specimens of Gaelic Prose*, edited and prepared, with notes, index of places, persons, loan words, introduction, etc., by Professor W. J. Watson, M.A., LL.D., and suitable for the use of candidates preparing for the Higher Leaving Certificate and others.

It is good to know that Aberdeen is again making a push for a Celtic Lecturership in the University.

Now that the Higher Certificate is settled there still remains the question of the position of Gaelic in the elementary schools, and this is a matter within the reach of the people of the Highlands themselves. School Boards have this part of the subject entirely in their own power, and the people have the School Boards in *their* power.

The war is showing anew the use of a knowledge of Gaelic, which is appreciated by many of the superior officers of the Highland regiments. Lochiel, writing of a young captain of the Camerons, said, 'His Gaelic was of great value.' Another young officer of a different battalion of the Cameron Highlanders wrote on joining, 'About half a dozen of us speak Gaelic, the doctor included . . . When I was introduced to the colonel he said "Gaelic is as useful to us as a Maxim gun."' "

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A. HIGHLAND SOLDIER'S MANUSCRIPT

REV. DONALD MACLEAN

A GOVERNMENT official (Bruce, the Engineer, Andrew Lang supposes) who visited the Highlands in 1749-50 says: 'In Lord Sutherland's lands live a small but fierce clan of the name of Gun. They are about 150 in number.' Private James Gunn of the 42nd Royal Highlanders was of that clan. He was born in Dornoch 'in Lord Sutherland's lands' about 1780. The Black Watch, or as the Highlanders knew it, *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or more commonly *A' Reisi-meid Dhubh*, had a particular glamour that made an irresistible appeal to the martial instincts of Highland lads. With its fortunes, its glory, and its prowess, during the great Peninsular War, the life of Private James Gunn was identified. He received his discharge soon after Waterloo, with the Waterloo Medal and the Peninsular War Medal 1793-1814, with seven clasps inscribed as follows: Coruña, Salamanca, Pyrenees, Nivelles, Nive, Orthes, Toulouse. Of these he proudly writes that he did not require 'to be paid a franc a day for wearing them.' In his eightieth year the sturdy veteran sat down to commit to writing his experiences in the various campaigns of that eventful period. He wrote for his young grandson, and in his and his family's possession this precious heirloom has lain for nigh fifty years. The record shows, though not intentionally, in the very artlessness of its simplicity, its candour and sincerity, that Private James Gunn, like all his comrades, was a

brave, a gallant, and a chivalrous soldier, betraying no symptoms of the ferocity which the jaundiced eyes of the Government official observed in his clan. A military history of a war which has been the cynosure of the eyes of all strategists since, written from his own experiences by a private soldier, is a unique and valuable contribution, not so much perhaps in what it adds to the sum of our knowledge of that eventful period, as in its viewpoint, and the evidence it affords by comparison and contrast with the tremendous happenings, the cruel barbarities, and the implacable hatred of the present terrible war, the collapse of the proud theories of the upward progression of civilisation.

Private James Gunn has a direct and forcible style. He does not suffer from poverty of expression, and even though his spelling shows a proneness to inconsistency, his literary effort reflects great credit on the school at Dornoch in these far-off days.

He seems to be on fire with an intelligent and noble patriotism. This 'tidy little Island' with all its ills he still loves fervently. For its 'freedom,' 'its liberty of conscience,' and other innumerable advantages, 'every mother's son in Britain should consider it an honour to shed his blood.' He has a lively sense of humour which, though not always refined, is seldom so coarse or even grim as to be repulsive. His satire is clever and effective without being mordant. From a man to whom 'soldiering was my hobby from my earliest boyhood,' no bitter complaints or pangs of remorse need be expected. To the perennial murmurs that British soldiers are not rewarded according to merit, he answers: 'I am proud to say that should it be attempted, we should be like Falstaff's army with 21 officers for every 20 soldiers, but a great step has been taken in the right direction by the award of the Victoria Cross.' These were not the days of high feeding; there was no question of financial loss in wastage in camps or in the field. Beef, biscuits, jams and luxuries were not awaiting the soldiers after fatiguing marches, the fording of flooded rivers, and

victory in scenes of carnage. 'A handful of flour was handed out to us' is a frequent refrain, which, in the absence of fires, could not be converted even into an Australian "damper." Though there was ground for grumbling, with a fine loyalty he exculpates authorities. 'I never complained but when the Commissariat was at fault, and that was not seldom. But they were excusable at times by our marching and counter marching. The worst of it was that no back rations for more than two days were paid out.' He has an inveterate prejudice against the 'Medical Officers' and their medicines. 'I very much disliked Doctor's drugs. . . . They [doctors] are like our city policemen, never to be found when wanted.' At the camp at Quilla a severe epidemic of measles laid many of the brave soldiers low. 'If a soldier gets sick,' says he, 'on the eve of any extra duty, he is put down as none of the best stuff, the very idea of which made me conceal what ailed me, although I was very sick. But I had to appear before the Doctor.' With a surprising contempt for his serious condition, he playfully contrived to prove the physician's skill. 'The Doctor asked me what I was complaining of. I said of course my bowels. I was to get medicine. "But, sir," said I, "my skin is all breaking out." "Let me see you." I opened my breast. "You young rascal," said he, "you are as full of the measles as you can be."' His law for culpable 'contractors' was Cromwell's logic for the Irish. 'For if I had a command, I would have some of these [contractors] shot for charging for what they never furnished.' Occasionally his facile pen glides into a moralising side-issue. He abruptly checks the transgressor with a reminder and a fling. 'What do you think of my preaching? Will I stop? Yes, and let them carry it on that's paid for it.' Again he relegates preaching 'to them that's paid for it,' and by adapting a quotation from his great hero, he naïvely suggests what many say openly. 'But, as Wellington said of the Army, "they are not all soldiers that wear a red coat," I say they are not all preachers

that wear a black coat.' But let us hear the veteran at length. He opens with this splendid tribute of whole-hearted appreciation of the French :—

' James, it is with pleasure I will endeavour to give you an account, from my knowledge of that protracted War with, now I hope, our Great Allies, the French. For I can assure you a more generous foeman never existed on the field of battle, or away from it. Be kind to a Frenchman in whatever way you may meet him. Believe me, he will not forget it. I speak and write from experience. Should it ever be your fate to face him in battle, expect him to perform his duty, defend himself, scorning to take a cowardly advantage of your inability to defend yourself. True, there are on record cruel acts committed by the French soldiers, but the cause or aggravation is not added. They were not all Frenchmen who were in the French service, nor were they all British that were in the British service. The French had mercenary foreigners and so had Britain.'

His first experience of foreign service was at Gibraltar, where his regiment was stationed at the commencement of the Peninsular War. He speaks of the contests for the possession of the fort between the fleet of Britain and the combined fleets of Spain and France, the latter having each ship or junk coated with cork so that the balls fired at them bound off without effect. The ammunition of the garrison was getting short. ' I have been told by an artillery soldier the following story. One gunner was confined in the guard house. He told the sergeant of the guard he wished to speak to the officer of the guard. When he was brought before him, " Sir," said he, " I think if the balls could be made red hot they would set fire to these vessels." The suggestion was acted on and proved effectual.' His terse but ample description of Gibraltar is worth giving as an example of his alertness in picking out only what is essential. ' But I cannot leave the Rock without a parting glance. To me it appeared to be a wonderful place. On the Mediterranean side was a perpendicular height of about

a mile. On the north side is a declivity, but where the town is built there is a narrow strip within the batteries, so that it was well termed impregnable by nature as well as by art.' Two classes of the numerous families of nations represented on the 'Rock' he specially mentions. The Jew in his oriental dress and proverbial thirst for money was there 'selling anything or everything but pork or a Drummer's jacket.' 'The latter having lace of different colours on it, the men often had a good laugh in offering Moses a Drummer's jacket; with a "tush tush" we would get rid of his importunity.' The other was 'a numerous family of Baboons.' Against the 'strict order not to molest them' he boldly but warily attempted to possess himself of a young baboon. His attempt almost ended tragically, or, as he says, 'put an end to my soldiering.' Encroaching on the privacy of the baboons while a mother baboon was dressing and 'skelping' her offspring as 'smartly as my mother did when I was a naughty boy, down came a good sizeable stone from among a dozen or more grinning and laughing at me.'

'Before I take leave of the Rock, with pleasure I will let you know that our brave countryman, Captain Lord Cochrane, gave the Spaniards no small annoyance with his *Imperious* Frigate and his brave crew of Greenockians and Glasgowians who were worthy of his command. Nor should I forget the brave officers and crews of the Brigs named *Scout*, *Grashopper*, and *Beagle*. Oh! Britain, these are the men who, by their fearless and brave acts, materially help you to be called, what in fact you are, merchant princes.'

At last the time to leave the Rock for more active service had come. 'Sir Hugh Dalrymple, the Governor, left the Rock to take command of the Army in Portugal. Sir John Moore called at the Rock on his way to Portugal. He dined at our officers' Mess. If I may pass an opinion it would have been as well if Sir Hugh had not left the Rock at all to command. For the day of his arrival the Battle

of Vimeria was fought and gained. But just then a cession of arms took place, by the terms of which French troops were to leave Portugal with all the honours of War.' The voyage to Lisbon was slow and uneventful, 'the sea being unruffled as a pond.' On board the transport were not only soldiers, but their wives and those of the officers, and 'a few reels were danced in the cool of the evenings.' But murmurs of 'caste' feeling or jealousy between units male and female of two such famous regiments as the Black Watch and the Grenadier Guards are hinted at. 'The Captain of the Grenadiers' lady said to Mrs. (the Colonel of the Black Watch's lady—or old Daddy as he was called), "I wish you would tell the Colonel to order the soldiers' wives to keep further forward for their clothes smell so." "Then," said the Colonel's lady, "I better go too, for I am a soldier's wife, but perhaps you are only a Captain's." Here, too, it may be mentioned that the veteran scribe stoutly disputes the authenticity of the famous charge, 'Up, Guards, and at them,' by reasoning from comparison. 'That was not his way of giving a command.' But later in the narrative he is less dogmatic—"I don't know whether he said it or not for the good reason, I did not hear him say it." They arrived at St. Julian. Sir Hugh Dalrymple had, however, capitulated to the French. The Guards landed to relieve the French Guard. Sir John Moore was now Commander-in-Chief of the Army. They marched out to Quilla '3 leagues out of Lisbon.' In the beginning of October 1808 they commenced to advance and 'mind we had no Commissariat.' They entered Spain at Roderigo, 'a frontier garrison town,' and continued their march to Salamanca. In the latter place they were quartered in a convent. Lack of knowledge of Spanish was a great drawback to them in attempting to buy necessities. By the kindly effort of a 'few Irish students there,' they were put in possession of a Spanish-English booklet, prepared and circulated gratis by these students, and containing 'the names of those articles in Spanish and English, which

proved very useful.' Here he records a very amusing incident. 'One day we were served out with fresh pork for rations. The manner of killing and dressing the sow appeared rather odd to us Britishers, as Jonathan says. After bleeding the animal it was laid on straw and covered with the same and set fire to, which left it half roasted. What makes me notice this is that I was never a lover of Sandy Campbell anyhow. Being served out each camp kettle was in use. One of our mess went to market to buy some vegetables, and he did buy with a vengeance. He fancied some cayenne pepper pods. He bought them and in the kettle with the soup they looked tempting. They were ready and the sipping commenced. After the second sip, ah! what wry faces. Each mouth was on fire, which was the cause of many a hearty burst of laughter, at least for the time, to them who had partaken the least.'

'Now orders came to move forward. Truly our sun was on the decline. I feel somewhat at a loss to account for the rest of our journey until we reached Sachagoon' (he apologises for his spelling of Spanish towns, but on the whole he has no need to) 'on the 24th December. There were whispers of an attack on a French fort a few leagues away. But this intention was disclosed by treacherous Spaniards to the French, who evacuated the fort without offering resistance.' They were still on the move. It was 'an unusually severe winter for Sunny Spain.' Rivers were unfordable. Rations were always short, and boots and clothing scarce, and fatigue made heavy toll on the gallant army. At the banks of one 'formidable river' they were ordered 'to take off our kilts, cartridge pouch and belt, and lay them on the top of our knapsacks at the back of our heads, no doubt to keep the powder dry, and the precaution proved necessary.' Doubtless it was his familiarity with the primitive method of travel through the roadless Highlands and swollen streams there that prompted him to be careful of his footgear. 'Having now but one pair of shoes, I was resolved to be careful of them. So I

put them off and put them on dry when I got to the other side. But my over care nearly proved fatal—at least in a measure. Pieces of ice were floating down, and the water so cold, that if it was not for a generous Dragoon who was fording with us, helping me, assuredly I would have been carried away. But safely landing, I found the benefit of the precaution, for putting on my dry shoes I felt comfortable. It was here I first saw that renowned General and soldier, and soldiers' friend, Sir David Baird.'

The memorable retreat on Corunna was now in rapid progress. The veteran gives a graphic account of its horrors. Moving constantly before a vigorous pursuer, to whom they gave as much as they got, over snow-clad hills and bridgeless rivers, ragged, hungry—'only $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. fine flour was served'—sleepless, in many cases the flesh, alas! was weaker than the spirit. The care of a retinue of 'our poor women,' with infants whose first vision of the world was an army in retreat, added to the difficulties of the gallant forces. Of the Spanish Army that was expected to render them help, he writes most contemptuously: 'I may say all [Spanish Army] engaged in a hunt, and every one they caught they killed and threw away. But every one that escaped their vengeance they carried with them. This was all we saw of that great Spanish Army that was to support us, or rather we to support them against Bonaparte's rule or dominion, and I do not know but it had been better for that nation that he had succeeded.' 'We were honoured by their Sovereign or Government or both, by a bit of scarlet cloth about the size of a halfpenny to wear in front of our bonnets, as a star or token of their regard, and the officers had a portrait of His Most Catholic Majesty in a small case, but he would be a clever fellow who could catch any of these Royal emblems in 24 hours. They found their way back by the stream to where they came from.' Equally contemptuous is he of the historians who describe the retreating army as a 'drunken rabble.' Yea, he pours the vials of his righteous indignation on these,

and without difficulty 'fixing the lies in their hard mouths.' 'Not drunk, unless it was from hunger and fatigue. For my part, I did not see a man so on our retreat, but several had to yield unable to proceed further. Nor could I see where they could get it.' Plundering, though almost excusable on the part of starving men, was visited with death penalty. Even when 'biscuits or shoes' were taken from destroyed stores, the law of discipline was equally relentless. 'Two of the 7th were brought to the front and their knapsacks laid open to inspection, and when unpacked Commanding Officers of regiments were ordered to the front, and told by Sir John that these men were reported as having plundered in their profession, and if it had been so they were to be shot.'

'Corunna was at last, on a fine day, in sight, but ah! we could see no shipping, which disappointed us not a little.' 'Batteries were built at the entrance to the town. A powder magazine was blown up, which explosion made us move as from an earthquake.'—'We marched out to the fatal heights of Corunna, where England lost one of her most renowned Generals, and very nearly his next in Command, namely, Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird.' The battle commenced with a bad move. Command came from some one to scatter the French official staff. It was obeyed and the meeting was scattered by well-directed British fire. But they came back with redoubled vigour. 'We were ordered to fall in. At this, Sir John made his appearance. He had been reconnoitring the enemy's position and stood at our colours. My position was the rear rank man next to the Colours. His first word was, "Who was it that ordered that gun to be fired?" He was told the name. "Well," said Sir John, "he has brought down the enemy's fire on us." So they were coming on in battalions. In making mention of the following you are not to suppose that I want any more praise for our Regiment than any of the rest of the Brigades. Being the oldest, our place was on the Right or Front where the ground was suitable. Sir

David said to Sir John, "Shall I take command of the 42nd?" "Yes," said Sir John. Then we were told to prime and load. Sir David then said these words calmly: "42nd, one volley—Charge—remember Egypt." So we stood up, and a strange sight appeared to us there—a line of sturdy Frenchmen. We fired the volley as we were commanded. They were close to us, in fact, rather close, or the volley would have been still more effectual. But I think both parties were taken at a surprise. As it was, all that could of them went to the right about. They are nimble fellows. Just at that juncture both Sir John and Sir David mounted on horseback followed and were completely exposed to the French guns, and so the sad effect proved. The French Commander could easily see that they were Superior Officers, being mounted. We pursued them more than half way, taking a few prisoners, of whom we were very careless. Here we halted; firing as we thought would do any good. The rest of the Brigade deployed to the right and had several turns with the French. It was there that Major Napier of the brave old half hundred received his wounds, and was ill-used by a spalpeen of a French Drummer; for a French soldier would not ill-treat a wounded man. On the left of the line, the battle waxed hotter, and the volleys continued till dark, the French doing their utmost to gain the high road to Corunna, and the British as determined that they should not. Our brave General, Sir William Bentinck, looking on and his mule at his side. He was truly one of nature's nobility, as well as by birth.

'As darkness set in, there was a hush on both sides. Sir John Earl of Hopeton, an old tried soldier, commanded, and followed up Sir John Moore's plan of embarkation.' Then took place the memorable evacuation which brought such imperishable glory to all concerned—a glory that remains undimmed by the equally memorable evacuation of Gallipoli. Artifice and skill were employed with conspicuous success. While the main body moved to the

beach, 'a man of a company was warned to stay and feed the fires, and walk round so as to make it appear at a distance that here were the wearied to sleep and the wounded to die.' The French were completely deceived and the embarkation proceeded methodically and without molestation. 'As the first streaks of daylight began to stretch across the sky, the picquets and fire-watchers were ordered to the shore, where boats were in readiness to convey them to the transports. When the transports were loaded and under sail in the broad daylight, the French moved down *en masse*, exasperated by their discovery. For it was said that the French Commander resolved to give us no quarter but drive us into the sea. All that I will say is, in the first place that it would be easier said than done, and in the next place, that I could not believe that a French man would either say or do such a thing.' The remnant of the 42nd, with others, were on board a new transport, the *Comet*, and with joy mingled with regrets for their comrades left as prisoners of war, they sailed for England. 'We lay in Plymouth Harbour for about a month, during which time we were occupied in cleansing ourselves of Spanish vermin, which was the only plunder we took from them, and well they could spare it, for they had a touch of Pharaoh's plague.'

After recuperating and refitting at Shorncliffe, they 'were drilled to fire down a beach standing or lying down, for the rumour of an invasion by Bonaparte by means of a flotilla was gaining credit on the minds of the British public.' When the ill-starred expedition to Holland 'of the largest number of vessels large and small I ever saw' was about to start, a strange phenomenon appeared, which made a great impression on the superstitious. 'I mind,' says he, 'a circumstance which took place, out of the ordinary course of Dame Nature's actings. A large ball of fire which arose as it were at the one end and disappeared at the other end of the Fleet with an even down-pour of rain. Both sailors and soldiers said that it was no good omen for

success to our expedition.' The sequel will show whether they were prophets or not. They arrived at Flushing with cooked rations ready for an attack on a battery mounted with twenty guns at a short distance from the beach. They were waiting for the 'command to attack' from the Commander-in-Chief, but it never came. 'Strange stories were afloat about him there and in England.' A violent storm burst on them suddenly. The transports and war-vessels were anchored on a sandy bottom and dragged. One brig went aground under the fort of Flushing. She became the target of the fort, but fought pluckily in very unfavourable circumstances. Next day they were ordered round to the island of Zealand. They landed. 'Now our sorrows began, not from powder and shot, but from fever and ague. Our Company alone had 20 attacked at once, which caused no small consternation.' A decimated army returned from a disastrous expedition. 'Many of the men got long furlough to recuperate, and invariably returned a vast deal better in health.'

No sooner had they recovered than they were ordered back to Lisbon at once to join the army commanded by Wellington. The second battalion of the Black Watch was broken up, and most of its units were attached to the first, which brought the strength of that fine fighting regiment to twelve hundred. 'A fine accession to the Highland Brigade,' he says. Soon after their arrival they were ordered to advance to Salamanca, which was garrisoned by the French with the main body of their army two leagues from it. 'At night they [the French] placed sentinels of straw dressed in uniform, paying us back for the trick we played on them at Corunna. We marched on Burgos.' The siege of the castle, situated on a 'tableland about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad,' was commenced. Volunteers were asked for a scaling party and a firing party. His regiment's response was such as to overwhelm the command with volunteers. For four months the siege proceeded with the utmost energy on the part of engineers.

On the eve of a successful issue to their labours the appearance of French relieving forces obliged Wellington to retreat. 'The French pursued us candidly speaking till we entered Portugal, and if it was not a retreat during the time it lasted, I do not know what to call it.' Before the next move they suffered dreadfully from an outbreak of fever, and 'had to be changed from place to place for the benefit of the change of air.' Fights for position, attacks by cavalry, and the taking of many prisoners 'over whose downfall we manifested no symptoms of joy.' The battle of Vittoria is then described. 'King Joseph invited the ladies of that city to come and see how he would pommel the English. Indeed the place he made choice of for that panorama proved most disastrous for him and his army, fully worse than Johnnie Cope in the song. He lost his treasure, in fact all his heavy baggage, the drivers of the waggons cutting harness and getting away as best they could with the main army. General Graham coming with his Division on their flank by another road completed their disaster, and pursued them until he shut them up in St. Sebastian. We pursued them by another road, but word came that a division of the French moved forward to relieve their comrades who were besieged in Pampaluna, and were promised an ounce of gold each. Be that as it may, our Brigade was ordered back, starting in the evening, and arriving in the morning near Pampaluna, intercepted their further advance. I dare say, this was the greatest sight I got during the War. The place was like an amphitheatre—a sloping hill around and a plain in the centre. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon the French were in motion and moved forward in sections in as good order as they would going to an ordinary field-day. But our division on their left hurriedly fell in and moved down on them and engaged. The light company of our Brigade was ordered off, and had to ford a considerable river to meet them, and we were ordered to follow. The French commenced to retire to their former positions and halted. So this day's work

ended without much damage on either side. Picquets were posted by both parties. There was a field of potatoes between us. Shortly after, our men entered the one end and so did the French the other, digging with their bayonets. My comrade and I were gathering stubble to make a fire to boil the kettle—do not start, it was not to make tea, but some other dainty dish. At this time, who comes up but Lord Wellington, and but a little distance from where we were. General Pakenham went out to meet him. After salutation, these words were passed, pointing to the diggers: “My Lord, did you ever see the like of that?” The answer was, “I never did, General.”

The French were now driven on without a halt to the Pyrenees. There they made a determined stand, built huts, and forced the British to encamp in front of them. ‘And here I will give you a little insight into the character of the French soldier, enraged and embittered against us as you would suppose him to be. It came on heavy snow, so much so that the mountains were clad with it. The French picquets were posted at the side of a deep ravine. It was very cold. Perhaps our coming from the south made us feel it more so. We had double sentinels on the footpath, so had they. You will understand that sentries never shoot each other. Being so cold, one sentry stood watching what might take place in front of him while the other walked about to warm his feet. One of the French sentinels made a motion with his hand, laid down his gun, and stepped forward a few paces. He then laid down a flask, putting it to his mouth first and motioning to our sentry to do the same. Falling back the other followed his example. Now I ask what would be more friendly between men at war with each other.’ The battle of the Pyrenees was fought and won, and the British encamped ‘on French soil at last with no little pride, and with the strictest orders not to injure any of the inhabitants.’

Now began a series of the celebrated river passages which had to be effected to make a further invasion of

France possible. In the midst of a detailed account of the extreme hardships involved, our communicative chronicler records an amusing incident, reflecting the high honour and fine chivalry of hardened warriors, which can scarcely be paralleled in the written annals of war.

‘We got now into quarters, chiefly deserted houses. Some of them were in need of repair caused by our shot and shell, and in one such we had a strong picquet posted. We remained here about a month. It came my turn to mount that duty also, and on that night the following circumstance took place and indeed oftener than our officers wished to allow. I believe the culprit of an act which both officers and men detested was one of the name—but I will not dirty my paper by it.—He being on sentry, a French soldier came to him and, a whistle being the signal, asked F. if he would buy a watch. He said he would, but had not the money then, but would have it in four hours after, as his comrade was coming with some supper and had the purse. It was very cold. The French soldier could not speak English, nor the British soldier French, but both spoke a little Spanish, both having been in Spain. Strange as it may appear, the French soldier trusted no small risk because either *corps de armee* might be removed or a battle ensue. But so it was the French soldier came at the appointed hour, but found out his misplaced confidence. Relating the story as the one best could and the other understood, our sentry asked him if he (the French soldier) would go to the picquet house and try to make him out and that he would pass him to the next sentry. To this proposal, although one would think it dangerous, he readily assented. Our man moved forward with him to the next sentry and stated the circumstance. He passed him to the next. Arriving at the door of the picquet house, these called the Sergeant and told him the matter. He went and informed the Officer. The bold Frenchman was admitted. Happily one of the Officers spoke the French language fluently. The French soldier's statement was heard, and not without

surprise at his confidence in our military training that he would get justice. I am proud to say he was not mistaken. The Officers' names were Captain D. MacKenzie and Lieutenant Urquhart—both now dead, peace to their memory. The Sergeant was told to go and fall in the picquet in the house and in open ranks. The Officers came, candle in hand, and with their strange visitor nothing daunted. The Officers moved down the ranks until the French soldier halted before F. The Captain said, "Did you buy a watch from this man and promise to pay him?" He answered, "No." But the falsehood appeared in his face. The Captain detected the falsehood by the flush on his countenance, and commanded him to deliver up the watch directly. Seeing there was no escaping, he put his hand in his breast and brought out the watch and handed it to the Frenchman, the Captain saying to F., "owing to the circumstance"—here he stopped,—“but I hope your comrades will judge your mean cowardly act rightly”; and so they did as long as he was in the regiment. Then the Officers and their guest returned to their room, the Captain giving the soldier his watch and receiving his most grateful thanks in return, and saluting, he was for going, to which move the Officer said: "Oh! where are you going?" "Back," said he. "But do you not know that we must keep you a prisoner?" "Ah," said he, "if I did not believe otherwise I would not be here." "Well," said the Officer, "according to your faith be it unto you." Without asking a single question respecting their army, he asked: "Do you drink wine?" "Oh yes," if they pleased, and after drinking to their health, the Captain told the Sergeant to see him past the sentry. The men were as much gratified by the act as the Officers themselves, *ah bien*.'

Next comes a description of the battle of Orthes, and the terrific charge of the Highland Brigade. 'I never saw such a sight before. Man and horse tumbled over each other, dead and wounded. We advanced and their infantry was getting in position to attack. But, from what

cause we never knew, but just as we were getting into line they went to the right about without firing a shot at us. We gave them, of course, a parting salute. We got now into open column, and, strange to say, I being second from the right in the rear rank, was struck by one ball in the knee below the cap. They say the only place to hit a black is the shins. I heard the crack and fell and fainted, I believe. When the blood began to flow I felt easier, bound up the wound with a napkin I had by chance, and hirkled as best I could towards the house we started from. The poor fellows who received our volley were lying dead and wounded, and as I was crippling by, motioned to me by signs for water, which I would go to fetch, cripple as I was, but did not know where to get any. Entering the house, what a sight! Lying on the floor were wounded men, and some in great pain. The most painful to hear was a stout Grenadier who lay beside me, shot through the belly, and crying to the Doctor to put him out of pain. Next day, Frenchmen came with carts to bring us into Hospital. Such of us as thought ourselves any way able petitioned the Doctor to allow us follow the Regiment.' He did so himself.

He joined his regiment above Toulouse, where the French made a final stand. And here the amateur historian differs from the great authorities. 'Indeed, it was reported,' says he, 'after the Battle was fought that Field Marshal Soult had information of Peace being concluded 7 or 10 days before, but having such a good position, he wanted it to be said that he gained the last battle.' In the battle 'our' Brigade suffered severely, but Soult, finding that he was not to succeed, made known that Peace had been proclaimed, and we marched for Bordeaux, one of the finest cities in France.' Here he had to remain behind with one of the officers of his company who was severely wounded. They were kindly entertained by the French, and particularly by 'the lady of the house who spoke English fluently.' Ultimately they sailed for London and Aberdeen,

‘which was near the officer’s home.’ He joined his dépôt there, and on Christmas Day they were ordered to embark for ‘sweet Erin gu brath.’ They landed at Waterford and made for ‘the blessed city of Kilkenny, where we joined our Regiment—and happy to meet again—now commanded by Col. Robert McCara, our former 2nd Lieutenant—and water without mud, coals that didn’t smoke, and streets paved with marble!’ Here he met those who were taken prisoners in the retreat from Corunna.

The enjoyment of the bliss of peace in ‘blessed Kilkenny’ was of short duration. The last act in a great drama had to be played. The liberation of Europe from the threat of wild ambition was not yet completed. ‘News came that that restless cricket Boney got back to France.’ The forces of Britain had again to be massed, and the 42nd were to face their old opponents once more. They embarked for Flanders in the best of spirits, and ‘our division arrived at Ghent, a town intersected with canals and bridges and with unequalled fine men and handsome women, and excellent Geneva.’ They marched to Brussels, ‘everything going on handsomely and cheerfully. I said then as I say now—who would not be a soldier, especially if his country and King were threatened?’ He then proceeds to give an account of the Ball given by the Duchess of Richmond on the eve of Waterloo. ‘The Dutchess of Richmond gave a Ball to the higher ranks of officers, and wished for a few soldiers from each of the Scottish Regiments to dance the Highland Fling, etc. But alas! at 2 o’clock in the morning, everything that could make a noise in the way of a drum or bugle was sounded to assemble us in our several parade grounds. We were not long about it, but still we were thinking it was but a Brigading Day until we found the road we travelled was rather long for that. Then the truth came out that we were on the road to meet Bonaparte, who,’ he says, ‘might have been the Emperor of that great nation, but his own ambition slew him.’

'Passing through the village of Waterloo, we halted in close column [Quatre Bras]. We overheard our brave old General Pakenham say to our Colonel: "Well," he said, "if there is anything to be done this day, I will try to get this Brigade in"; and these words were hardly uttered when an orderly was galloping towards him and gave him his orders, which he gave us cheerfully: "Fall in—March." But before we marched I should have stated that the Hanoverian and Brunswick troops passed us to the Front at Yeo. Looking at them marching forward they were as proud as Spaniards on sentry, or a turkey cock in a farmyard, dressed in dark uniform with something like a horse tail in their helmets with the shape of a scalped face and man's shin bones. If they did not frighten the French, most assuredly the French frightened them. On the French coming forward to attack, they went into the utmost confusion, and were reported not to have minded what became of their Commander, the Duke of Brunswick, who was killed. Some of them did not stop in their flight till they reached Antwerp, about 40 miles from the battle-field. The Prince of Orange, who was slightly wounded, tried to maintain order, but failed. Indeed their flight cost dearly to the people of Brussels. News spread in the city that the French beat the British and were coming towards the city. But to return, the French cavalry made a furious charge on our Brigade, each having to form a square, but our old Colonel was killed by a Cuirassier before he could manage his horse to enter it, and none of them got off with both ease and honour. Our own Greys let them see that they could handle their sword better without being clad in steel or brass armour as they were. The French seemed determined to cut up the Highland Brigade. They next charged the 79th, but the Greys made them retreat, cursing the Greys no doubt, and saying among themselves—"These devils are for all the game among themselves." At night all was quiet, nor was much done on the 17th.' Here he ventures in an interesting way to criticise the critics. 'Bonaparte,' he proceeds,

'sent Grouchy with his divisions to meet the Prussians, and had some sharp work indeed. A goodly number of our wise, or would-be wiser than other fellows in all that concerns British interests, said, and even say still, that if Blucher had not come to our assistance, the game was up with us. But had Grouchy with his division remained, and Boneparte came against us with his full force and made us retreat, were the Prussians to remain inactive? May we not suppose that a General like Blucher would take Boney in his flank. Here then the French would be between two fires, which would prove rather hotter for them than acting as they did. The sequel you know. The Prussians were pursuing and harassing the French at no merciful rate, perhaps out of revenge for what they suffered from the French troops in their own country. We were marching at comparative ease, but the Prussians were pursuing the French troops as the locusts in the green fields. Such was man's humanity to man that causes so many to mourn. Yet let us hope that better days for France and England are coming. If these two great powers,' continues this hopeful prophet, 'acted in harmony, they would not only be conquerors but be a blessing to the rest of the world, and who can tell but it is to their co-operation, that happy period portrayed, when the sword is turned into an agricultural instrument and the lion and the lamb will frisk together, will come. May it be so.'

Waterloo was fought and won. Napoleon's ambition was for ever curbed. Peace was established. The British force moved to Paris, where they warmly fraternised with their erstwhile foes, with all the magnanimity and chivalry of noble victors. They drank each other's health; touched each other's glasses, and 'I shouted as best I could—Vive Napoleon!'

He then proceeds to give his estimate of the quality of the various combatants he met. 'The Austrian Guards, in my opinion, were the heaviest men, but their white long coats, I at least, thought not suited to campaigning. The

Prussians were smart, active looking soldiers. I never did see any men marching with such precision. Indeed, compared with others (us) they might well be called giants. But I hope it might then be said, and can still be said of the British soldier, what was said of Rob Rorison's bonnet, that it was not the bonnet, but the head that was in it—that it was not the size of his body, but the soul that was within it.'

In March of the following year the veterans of the 42nd left their temporary resting-place in the south of England for Scotland. Their Colonel wished them to go north by sea, but the order from Horse Guards was peremptory. They must proceed by land. The march north was a long triumphal one. The populace everywhere—except one place—received them with enthusiasm and acclamations. 'Such a march,' says he, 'could not be in any other country but England, among the kind-hearted inhabitants to their soldiers. In every town—one excepted—even the women were not forgotten, and in the larger towns the officers were treated to the theatres. Long may Britain rule the waves. The name of the exception I forget, for the rest amply made up for them. Nor would I take notice of this, but for the following statement made to myself and a comrade. Halting there over Sunday, next morning we met a countryman. Accosting us, he said: "Soldiers, you would no doubt be surprised at the reception you got from us." Here we told him we had no right to complain of what we had no right to. "Well, well," said he, "that may be so, but do you know the reason of it?" We said No. "Well," said he, "I will tell you what I heard spoken—that your Scottish people came this far and burnt and plundered this town the time of the Scottish Rebellion." We only laughed and said they had long memories. We came to Berwick, where we were treated in the same manner, but on our leaving it, our Band played "Heigh, Johnnie Cope," just for a laugh. Coming to Musselburgh we were treated kindly. But arriving in Edinburgh and going up

to the Castle, the crowd was so great that some of the men were carried off their feet. Some time afterwards we were handsomely treated in the Assembly Rooms, every officer receiving a handsome piece of plate, and every one of the Regiment who was wounded at Waterloo when discharged receiving on his discharge and applying to Bailie Henderson from ten to twenty pounds sterling in money. Besides there was a goodly sum subscribed to build a Church with free seats for Waterloo men and wives and children. Although commenced it is not finished. I doubt if ever it will be. I think the minister will not be hard tasked in his duties for the soldiers and officers that were at that memorable battle.'

Like almost all of the Highland race, of whatever creed or politics, his thoughts fly back over all his own stirring experiences to the field of Culloden 'where that fatal tragedy to the Highlanders was enacted.' His grandfather was there, he tells us, and brought 'two swords off the field as a memorial of the circumstance.' 'He was not very communicative in giving an account of it,' he complains. 'Perhaps holding a Government situation as long as I knew him made him less communicative.' There was another, and perhaps a truer reason. James Gunn of Waterloo was a volunteer with his whole heart and soul in his country's struggles. His grandfather of Culloden was a bondman in arms, with his spirit and heart heavy and sad. His harp was hung on the willow tree. For, says Bruce the Engineer—the friend of 'Pickle the Spy'—truthfully, 'their chieftain, Captain Gun, was one of the Militia Captains in the time of the Late Rebellion, and it was no secret that his dependence on Lord Sutherland was rather the motive of his acting as he did than his own inclination.'

Private James Gunn had all the good qualities of a typical Highland soldier. He was loyal, brave, and fearless. Quite modestly he lifts the veil of a moving little scene in the Peninsular Campaign, by which he unconsciously reveals to us what manner of soldier he was.

'Such of us,' he says, 'as were enlisted for the period of 14 years got an offer of discharge two years before our time was expired. One afternoon in camp as my comrade and I were sitting on our knapsacks, a ball from a fieldpiece passed a short distance from us. "What do you think of that fellow?" said I. "Well," he said, "I think the King has need of men, and I will volunteer this very day." And so did I, and I never rued it, and even this day [aged eighty] I am as willing, if not as able, if my service was needed here. I will go as cheerfully as ever.'

A grateful country indeed awarded this brave veteran a pension of one shilling a day, which he drew for over fifty years! He makes no complaint at the nation's paltry recognition of its noble heroes; and, too proud even to make known his wants, his last years disclose this stout-hearted soldier, like many other veterans, struggling, not against his nation's enemies, but against his load of years. 'These times,' he says, 'are passed, and happier times arrived, and still happier, I hope, in store. Let us endeavour to be worthy of that time when it arrives.' 'I cannot expect but the Grim Chap is whetting his scythe for me. Well, let him come; I faced him before now.'

Well might Private James Gunn say of his little clan, of which he was a splendid specimen, what a dying Perth soldier, who shared the immortal glory of the Scottish advance on Loos, said of his fellow-countrymen: 'Nae doot, sir, we would be a great people if there were mair o' us.'

THE GAELIC VERSION OF THE THEBAID OF STATIUS

PROFESSOR MACKINNON

(Continued from page 211)

GAELIC TEXT

Fol. 18b 2. Is and sin ro bui co seasmach sir-shiublach in croda cumacht¹ Mairt .i. deu² in chatha 7 sleag aithger amnas ina laim co. n-snigtis 7 co n-reithdis ri srotha falemara fola o fograin co h-urlaind oc thairrngairi bais 7 aideada na curad ceachtarda co ro comtheann 7 co ro comgres³ co h-acgarb anindeach⁴ na h-airside athloma sin do chum a chele 7⁵ in chathaigthi co n-a⁶ tard nech dib sin a crich na cathrach da riacht.⁷ Ro slinfuailsed⁸ fergi fithigi⁹ coma h-urloma lama na laechraidi do chlaibib curaidi cathaigthi 7 do slegaib seta sodibraicthi re h-ailgius na h-irgaili. Cid tra acht¹⁰ na bad milig¹⁰ in chatha uair ba h-adbul re aisneis trethan 7 tindenais na n-ec(h)radh n-allmarda a comch(r)athad na carpad ac fo shenm na srian mireann comdaissuarca¹¹ sneachtaidi na faicheada fondglasa ris na caeboib coem¹²-chubair co n-snignigtis co sir-adbol dar oilib¹³ na h-eachraidi cach concingtis na cairpthag.

Et¹⁴ is ann sin ro comaicsich¹⁵ cach d'aroile¹⁶ dib, 7 ba h-e dlus¹⁷ ro h-imnaisid¹⁸ na h-airsigi sin co comraictis a troigthi ar n-ichtar, 7 a n-aigthi ar n-uachtar, 7 a sceith chuanna chabradacha re 'roile, 7 a a cloidbi¹⁹ curad gera cathaigthi, 7 a cathbairr choema cumaidi²⁰ re cheli,²⁰ coma²¹ snata data²¹ derlad²² 7 dellradacha²² do na cumdaigib badar ar na curadaib cathbairr thaidlecha aroili cein no co ro²³ ruamait a frasad na²³ fala a corpthaib na curad

¹ cumachtach.

² dee.

³ gress.

⁴ ainminach.

⁶ d'innsaidhi.

⁶ co nach.

⁷ rochtain.

⁸ linfuailsed.

⁹ fichaidi iat.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ bát mera a miledha.

¹¹ soillsi.

¹² Eg. omits.

¹³ oibhlibh.

¹⁴ Eg. omits.

¹⁵ coimfaicsidhsit.

¹⁶ reroile.

¹⁷ Eg. adds tra.

¹⁸ imfaicsidhsit.

¹⁹ cloidme.

²⁰⁻²⁰ Eg. omits.

²¹⁻²¹ snata an datha 7 an.

²²⁻²² Eg. omits.

²³⁻²³ forruamnidhi frasa.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

UNSWERVING and ever active was the bloody, powerful Mars the god of war with a very sharp, deadly spear in his hand, from which dripped and flowed streams of liquid blood from point to shaft as it dealt death and destruction on champions from either side. He urged and incited fiercely and venomously the active veterans to mutual slaughter to such purpose that not one of these ever reached his territory or city. Fighting fury filled them so that the hands of the heroes eagerly grasped strong battle swords and long, easily hurled spears, such was their ardour for fighting. Howbeit it was not warriors alone that fought that battle; for it is terrible to relate the rush and eagerness of the foreign steeds as they violently shook the chariots while the bitted bridles rang against each other, so that the green fields looked bright and snow white with the bobs of white foam that ever dropped from the jaws of the horses wherever the chariot fighters drove them. Then each side closely approached the other, and with skill they mutually engaged, so that feet beneath and faces above took their part in the combat. Fair, bossed shields (clashed) against each other, and champions' swords sharp and warlike and beautiful, shapely helmets, so that the gleam and brilliance of the shining helmets of each which afforded protection to the champions were pleasant and fair to see until they became red-stained by the blood which fell in showers from the bodies of the champions from the mutual smiting thereafter. Then

ac in combualad iar toin. Et¹ o ra erig confad com-
tnuthach cosnumach iter na curadaib sin, 7² ro mearaid
menmanna na milead. Ro crithnaich in talam tren n-adbul
re trethnaich na tren-fher re tendta in tachair comma breas-
maidm buaidirtha crislach cocuasta na firmámeindti amal
comcumraisetis³ na gaetha garb-gluairi⁴ gad-(s)nimacha in
ceathar duil com(fh)airsing con aiceantaib examla amal⁵ no
betis⁵ is in caip cumasda as ar tebit ar tus co taibsenach
.i. as inmais.

Et ba h-indtamuil aidchi do na h-airsidib sin re h-irgail
neoil dorchu dermairi na n-arm n-examal⁶ ac an dibrugun
co dluith os in deg-sluag comma cumaing in taer anbthenach
uastu re h-imud na n-urchur ac a n-athchur eturru, uair ro
chomdibraicid ann sin bera aithgera iarnaiddi, 7 ro frasaid
slega suainmeacha so-dibraici. Et⁷ ro laeit cairgi com-
chruindi a taiblib tulamais contaidlitis amal saignena
solusta os na sluagaib, 7 ro telgid saitheda sar-echta saeget
eturru, 7 ni talam co n-taidlidis ac toitim na h-airm sin,
acht anad i cendaib curad 7 i taebaib trenfher 7 i sleasaib
Fol. 19a 1. saer chlann. Cid tra acht ro thimchill cach a chele dib
ann sin amal timchellas tond mara moir ochra⁸ cuan⁹
7 calad, 7 do rala 'na comracaib iad.

Is and sin da rala Ipseus mac Asopas do Tiabandaib
aigid ind¹⁰ agaig 7 Menalca do Grecaib .i. taisech na
n-Eoballda. Ro scail 7 ro-s-crothastar¹¹ Ipseus Tiabanda
munter Menalca cu r' (f)acsad a tigerna a¹² oenur n eigin
irgaili da n-es.¹³ Is and sin ro cuir-seom cruad chomlond
re h-Ipseus re re cian, 7 o¹⁴ tharaid¹⁵ baegal¹⁶ gona ar in
Greedu sin¹⁷ i l-leith¹⁷ da druim co rop do'n¹⁸ leith araill
do¹⁹ tharraing Menalcas as in sleig,²⁰ 7 ac toitim do da²¹
tharlaic urchor do Ipseus di co ru-s-gon, 7 adbath fen
fochetoir. Acus²² as ahaithli²³ tarlaic airsid²⁴ ammai(n)d-
sech do Tiabandaib .i. Amindtus do saigit do Iasid²⁵ mic

¹ Eg. omits.² Eg. omits.³ ro cumeisetis.⁴ garba glordha.⁵⁻⁶ MS. 7 letis.⁶ h-examal.⁷ Eg. omits. ⁸ eochra.⁹ cuain.¹⁰ an.¹¹ ro croithustar.¹² Eg. omits.¹³ eis.¹⁴ Eg. omits.¹⁵ tarraidh.¹⁶ Eg. adds beime 7.¹⁷⁻¹⁷ leith.¹⁸ Eg. omits.¹⁹ Eg. omits.²⁰ Eg. t-sleig.²¹ Eg. omits.²² Eg. omits.²³ Eg. adds sin.²⁴ Eg. adds aghmhar.²⁵ Iadhsid.

arose fierce, contentious fury between the heroes, and the spirits of the warriors became inflamed. The firm, vast earth trembled under the efforts of the mighty men in the stress of conflict, so that the spacious vault of the firmament was filled with the commingling uproar, just as when the blustering, whirling winds clash in the four airts from diverse directions. And like unto night the scene of the conflict was to these veterans with dark, huge clouds of diverse weapons discharged in volleys above the heads of the stout warriors, so that the stormy air above them was crowded with the numerous casts exchanged between them. For there were discharged there sharp, iron darts, and thonged, light spears were flung in showers by them, and round stones were shot from slings with sure aim, which appeared above the hosts like bright thunderbolts, and deadly arrows were exchanged. Nor was it on earth these weapons alighted in their fall—they fixed in the heads of champions and in the sides of mighty men and in the flanks of nobles. And now each side of them encircled the other as the great ocean billows encircle the borders of havens and harbours.

And now Hypseus son of Asopus of Thebes meets face to face the chief of Oebalia, Menalcas, a Greek. The Theban Hypseus scattered and discomfited Menalcas's people, so that their chief was left alone in the extremity of danger. He fought a stern fight against Hypseus for a long time. But a chance blow from behind pierced the Greek from back to front. Menalcas pulled out the spear, and in his fall hurled it at Hypseus and wounded him. He himself perished instantly. Thereafter a fierce Theban veteran, Amyntas, shot an arrow at Jasus son of Phaedimos, who fell thereby. Then Agreus a champion of Calydon fought against Phegeos, a mighty Theban. Each was attacking the other when Agreus struck Phegeos's right hand off from the shoulders

Pedimus do Grecaib co torchair de. Is and sin ro comraic¹ coraid do Cailidondaib .i. Agreius re trenfher do Tiabandaib .i. Pegeius, 7 ro bui cach dib ac om airlech aroli es tue Agreius builli do Peig co ro ben a² laim n-des o'n² gualaind de, 7 co ro thoit lam in laich sin 7 ro bui ac siubal 7 ac lemnig ar lar 7 a claideb³ connert inti. Acus o t'chondaire Acetes do Grecaib sin tanic 7 ro tren-buail in laim ar lar co ru-s-crechtnaig co mor. Ro comraic and sin Ipseus do Tiabandaib re h-A(1)ccamas n-anacarach do Grecaib 7 ro thoit an⁴ Tiauanda do gonaib in Greeda sin. Ro comraic⁵ dno a ris do⁵ Ipseus mac Asopas 7 do⁶ Arcus engnumach do Grecaib. ⁷Ro gargaigsead an gliaid 7 ro curadaigsead a comlond 7 ro thoit Argus Greeda ger' uairsig⁸ d'on irgail sin. Acus⁹ ar na toitim sin les da rala in trenfher Tiphis do Grecaib chuici 7¹⁰ bar eoch,¹⁰ 7 ro chuirset comlond, 7 tanic and sin a ara¹¹ i fiadnaisi Thiphis .i. Abas 7 ro gon co h-amnas Ipceus. Ipceus imorro traserais 7 tren-marbaiss na firu sin co torchadar les.

Is and sin tarla comrac cethrair¹² ar lar in chatha .i. dias brathar do Tiabandaib .i. Ión 7 Daphnis, 7 dias brathar do Grecaib .i. Fares 7 Abas. Acus¹³ ro ba chomlond bagach braithremail sin do leith dar¹⁴ leth cein¹⁵ cor' thuitsead in dias Tiabanda sin ris¹⁶ in dis do Grecaib. Acus¹⁷ o ro tuitsead leo tuesad aichni¹⁸ cor brathir iad ar comdichracht a comraic 7 ar cosmaileacht¹⁹ a n-delba. Acus tanic a n-aicned co mor forro 7 ba truag leo a toitim dia lamaib.

Fol. 19a 2. Cid tra acht ba suaichinti sarecha saer-chland is in chath cheachtarda sin. Acus²⁰ is and sin ra trascair 7 ro timchill Emon echtach anrata do sil calma²¹ Chathim gasrada Grec, comtis buidni buaidhertha, 7 comtis taircsenaich tecig re trethan in Tiabanda sin ac a tuargain. Ro indsaig imorro Tid talchar togaidi, mac rig na Calidoine sluagu²² tenda na Tiabanda 'na aigid sin comdis dirmada dianscailti 7 comtis crithnaighi comlaind 7 comtis ailsegaig engnuma da eis.

¹ word deleted in MS.

²⁻² lam des o.

³ claidem.

⁴ MS. na.

⁵⁻⁶ tra.

⁶ Eg. omits.

⁷ Eg. adds 7.

⁸ b'airsidh.

⁹ Eg. omits.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ se ar a eoch.

¹¹ aru.

¹² cetair.

¹³ Eg. omits.

¹⁴ ar.

¹⁵ Eg. adds no.

¹⁶ las.

¹⁷ Eg. omits.

¹⁸ aithní.

¹⁹ cosmoilius.

²⁰ Eg. omits.

²¹ Eg. omits.

²² sluaga.

by a blow. The hero's hand fell, and with the sword still strongly grasped in it was moving and leaping on the ground. When Acetes, a Greek, observed this he went and struck the hand as it lay with great force and hacked it badly. Then fought Iphis a Theban and the merciless Greek Athamas, and the Theban fell by the wounds inflicted by the Greek. Hypseus the son of Asopus then fought another Greek, the dexterous Argus. The encounter was fierce and the conflict heroic. But the Grecian Argus, veteran though he was, fell in the combat. After he fell a mighty Greek, Iphis, came to his aid. Iphis dismounted and fought with (Hypseus), when his charioteer Abas joined Iphis and severely wounded Hypseus. But Hypseus laid low and quite slew these men, who thus fell by his hand.

Then there was fought in the centre of the field a combat of four, on the one side two Theban brothers, Ion and Daphnis, on the other two Greek brothers, Phareus and Abas. A warlike brotherly conflict it was on either side, until the two Thebans fell by the hands of the two Greeks. When they did fall they were recognised to be brothers both from the vehemence of their fight and their resemblance to each other. The (Greeks) were much affected at this, and they were grieved that the brothers fell by their hands.

Howbeit conspicuous and very valiant were the warriors of noble birth in that battle on either side. And now the featful, valiant Haemon of the renowned blood of Cadmus was prostrating and surrounding the Grecian warriors so that they were becoming confused troops and timid before the onrush of that Theban in his frequent attacks. On the other hand, however, the stern select Tydeus son of the King of Calydon attacked the stout troops of Thebes so that they became scattered crowds, timorous in fight and reckless of renown in consequence. Now a fitting comparison to these two is the rush of two vehement, foaming

Ba h-e tra ¹ samail na desi sin amal ro rethidis ² da buidni ³ diana dileand a slebtib arda amreidi co tochlait ⁷ co tim-airgid leo turscartha ⁴ in talman co linit na fan-gleanna ⁵ faethib dib. Is and sin ro erig Idas mac Conceist do Tiabandaib ⁷ is amlaid ro erig ⁷ aithleanda ⁶ loisetheacha lasamna 'na laim, ⁷ ⁷ ro dibriced ba ⁸ na ⁹ sluagaib iat co m-ba buaidirthe gasraigi Grec leis. Acus mar do bui ba'n ⁹ samla sin tarla Tid mac rig na Calidone do indsaigid ⁷ tue sadug setrech sleigi bar ¹⁰ in fer co torchair ⁷ tend a droma ¹¹ re lar ⁷ a aithindeada urderga air a nuas. Acus is ed ro raid Tid ris: 'Ni loiscfea ¹² tra ¹³ loechraid Lerna ni as mo .i. na ¹⁴ Grec. Acht chena coingebthar tu coma luaithred lan-min do chorp ar n-a loscud o na thindib ¹⁵ taeb-derga ra imarchraib ¹⁶ fen.' Et o da rigni-sium ¹⁷ sin imasae ¹⁸ fa sluag na Tiabanda amal tigrir croda confagaig ma ¹⁹ cethrib comimda ⁷ torchair ²⁰ in cuicer rig-milead-sa les do'n ruathar sin .i. Cuan ²¹ curita ⁷ Polus primechtach ⁷ Cromus coscorach ⁷ Elicon anglondach ⁷ Taigis tren-chalma. Emon imorro nir ba lugu a echta in airseda isin ²² ar na sluagaib Grec. ²³ Acus ni tharaid dil a fhergi dib re lan oilgius a luath marbtha ger' ba dluithi ²⁴ na sluaig ac a slaidi, ²⁵ ⁷ ger' ba calma curaid ²⁶ chroda Chalidone, munter talchar Tid, ro tholl ⁷ ro thanaig in tren-fer Tiabanda sin iad .i. Emon crechtach mac Crioin, cein no co tarla ²⁷ chuici in macaem beoda borrfadach .i. Butis. Ro bui seic ²⁸ imorro ac tairmesc na tren-fer teiched do denam re n-Emon. Acus mar da bui-sium amlaid sin ac tren-gresacht caich do chum in chomlaind tanic Emon chuici gan airigud co tue builli ²⁹ do thuaig trium Tiabanda do ³⁰ co ro dluig ⁷ co ro dianscail a chend ³¹ ar do ³¹ air. Acus ro chuir Ipaiss sacart Apaill comrac 'na diaid sin ris ⁷ i foircind in chomruic do rochair-sium re ³² h-Emon. Acus ³³ ar n-a thuitim leis ro fobair Polites sacart do Baich .i. deu

¹ Eg. omits.⁵ fain-gleanuta.⁹ fo'n.¹⁴ Eg. omits.¹⁹ fo.²⁴ dluith.²⁰ Eg. adds dó.¹⁰ for.¹⁵ tendib.²⁰ torchratar.²⁵ sluigh.³⁰ Eg. omits.² rethfedis.⁶ aithginna.¹¹ dromm.¹⁶ imchrais.²¹ Caon.²⁶ Eg. omits.³¹⁻³¹ ar a dó.³ buinne.⁷ lamaib.¹² loiscfider.¹⁷ rignidh.²² sin.²⁷ tainic.³² le.⁴ MS. turscana.⁸ fo. MS. repeats na.¹³ Eg. omits.¹⁸ innsaighi.²³ Grecacha.²⁸ side.³³ Eg. omits.

torrents from high, rough mountains, which dig up and carry with them the surface of the earth, and fill therewith the hollow glens beneath.

Now Idas son of Onchestus a Theban came forward ; and thus he was with flaming, scorching firebrands in his hands. He flung them among the hosts, and the Grecian troops were terrified thereat. As he was thus occupied, Tydeus the son of the King of Calydon approached him and gave the man a vigorous thrust with a spear, so that he fell with his back flat on the ground and the red firebrands upon the top of him. Tydeus addressed him thus : ‘ You shall no longer burn the heroes of Lerna, *i.e.* of the Greeks. Nevertheless you shall be fitly served, for your carcase will be turned into very fine dust, burned by the red-sided brands which you yourself carried.’ When he had thus done he turned upon the Theban hosts like a bloody, furious tiger among a herd of cattle, and these five royal warriors fell by his hands in that onset, viz. the heroic Aon, the very valiant Pholus, triumphant Chromis, the warlike Helicon, and Taeges (?) mighty brave.

But not fewer were the slaughters which the veteran Haemon wrought upon the Grecian hosts. Nor was his wrath sated with the ardour with which he quickly slew them. Where the ranks were closest he hewed them down. And though the bloody champions of Calydon, the stern warriors who followed Tydeus, were valiant, that mighty Theban, the wound-dealing Haemon son of Creon, pierced their ranks and thinned them. At length the courageous, stern youth Butis encountered him. Now he was checking the warriors and urging them not to give way to Haemon. And as he was thus engaged strongly inciting the others to the conflict, Haemon came upon him unperceived and struck him with a heavy Theban axe and clove and violently split his head in two. Thereafter Hypanis priest of Apollo

Fol. 19b 1. in n-(fh)ina debaid agmar aicbe(i)l ris 7 do rochair dno¹ in fer sin do laim Emon croda cetna ; 7 ger' ba sacart sin nir ba sruitheada anaideada² re h-Emon. Acus ro foibredar³ dias aili do Grecaib 'na diaid sin⁴ .u. Hiperion⁵ 7 Damasus daig-echtach, 7 torcradar lesium iad.

Cid tra acht ro bo dith ar Grecaib do'n gleo sin innne⁶ beth Meneru(a) ban-dei in gaiscid ac inguin⁷ leo. Et⁸ ro bui Ercail ac gabail re Tiabandaib, uair ro bo dei in tan sin h-e. Ro⁹ chomraic itir in⁹ dei sin ar lar in chatha .u. itir¹⁰ Ercoil 7 Minerba. ¹¹Is ed ro raid Ercoil: 'A siur inmain,' ar se, 'a Minerba, ca h-ecendal¹² ro imluaid ind¹³ aroen i cend aroile is in chath-sa na n-Grec 7 na Tiabanda, uair ro p'usa¹⁴ lim-sa tachur re m'athair uasal, re h-Ioib, ina rit-su, a Menerua. Uair ba mor do coseur chathbuadach ruca-sa tre d'cumachta-sa,¹⁵ 7 cetaigim¹⁶ dit, a ingen ma sa thindenus let an Teib do thogail.' Ro chetaig-sium imorro and sin 7 ro cendsaich Menerba o briathraib ailgenaib Ercail ; 7 ro acaib in cath iar sin ; 7 ro ingaib dno¹⁷ Ercoil Emon gan¹⁸ beth ac fortacht do 7 ro leicsead comdilsí iter na curadaib.

Ba h-anmainditi tra Emon ac airlech¹⁹ na n-Grec Ercoil da acbail²⁰ amlaid sin, 7 ro airig Emon Tiabanda gan air-sigeacht 'na urcharaib 7 gan bailcí 'na buillib. Ro impo co h-athlom do dochad²¹ as in chath. Adchondaire²² imorro mac rig na Calidone Emon ac teched tuc urchur n-inell diuriuch²³ chuici cor' ben in t-(s)leg iter bili in sceith 7 a cathbarr ina munel, 7 ger' ba beo 'na diaid ro bo crom-cend²⁴ caichi. Acus ní ro samail sillíud dar a eis ar gnúis in gaiscedaig ro gon²⁵ h-e, uair ní ba tualaing tachair ris, acht ro ela²⁶ 7 ro facaib in cath ar sin.

¹ Eg. omits.² anaigheada.³ opratar.⁴ Eg. adds Emon.⁵ Iperion.⁶ mana.⁷ imluamain.⁸ Eg. omits.⁹⁻⁹ chomraicsit na.¹⁰ Eg. omits.¹¹ Eg. inserts 7.¹² h-ecúndail.¹³ etrainn.¹⁴ p'ousa.¹⁵ cumachtaib.¹⁶ cetaigim-si.¹⁷ Eg. omits.¹⁸ Eg. adds a.¹⁹ oirlech.²⁰ facbail.²¹ dul.²² od'chondaire.²³ diríge (?).²⁴ crom-cendaich.²⁵ ru-s-gon.²⁶ elo.

[It is not proposed to print more of this MS. in the meantime. The text is here brought to Fol. 19b 1, 17th line from foot of column.]

fought a duel against him, the issue of which was that Haemon slew him. After he had fallen Politas a priest of Bacchus fastened a fierce, angry quarrel upon him, and he too fell by the hand of the same valorous Haemon. Although these were priests their destruction was none the more matter of concern to Haemon. Then two other Greeks, Hyperenor and stout Damasus, challenged him, and were slain by him.

Now it was a great loss to the Greeks in that battle that Minerva the goddess of valour was not fighting on their side. For Hercules favoured the Thebans, and he was a god at that time. These two, Hercules and Minerva, fought in the centre of the field when Hercules spoke thus: 'Beloved sister,' said he, 'Minerva, what mischance has brought us to this battle between Greeks and Thebans on opposite sides. I would prefer to quarrel with my noble father Jove than with you, Minerva. I achieved many triumphs and battle victories through your powerful aid. If you desire the destruction of Thebes, be it so; I leave the matter in your hands.' Then they parted. Minerva was appeased by the gracious words of Hercules and thereupon left the field; Hercules also ceased to aid Haemon further.

Now Haemon found his assaults upon the Greeks much less effective when Hercules had thus forsaken him. The Theban hero now found his casts missing their aim, his blows losing their force. He quickly turned to leave the field. But when the son of the King of Calydon saw Haemon retreating, he made a shrewd, straight cast with his spear which pierced Haemon's neck, finding an opening between the rim of his shield and his helmet. And though he lived he was ever after wry headed. Nor did he venture to look back on the face of the hero who wounded him, for he dared not face him, but he sneaked away and then left the battle.

THE SAXONES IN THE *EXCIDIUM BRITANNIÆ*

REV. A. W. WADE-EVANS

(Continued from page 227)

THE *Excidium Britannicæ*¹ must have been completed at the very latest by A.D. 725, because it had already come into the hands of Bede, who quoted largely from it in his *De temporum ratione*, which he wrote in that year.² Consequently, as forty-

¹ In this article I revert to the form *Britannia* in lieu of *Brittania*, which I fancy I must have adopted from Sir John Rhŷs's 'the theoretically correct spelling *Brittania*' (*Celtic Britain*, 3rd ed., 211). Professor J. Morris Jones in his *Welsh Grammar*, 1913, pp. 4-6, demonstrates that *Britto*, singular of *Brittones*, is for an earlier *Britann(os)*, pl. *Britanni*. Similarly we have a late *Brittia* for *Britannia*. The form *Britannia* survives in Middle Welsh *Brydain*, a variant of the more usual *Prydain*, which last is a Middle Welsh survival of *Pritannia*. The view now generally held that such pairs as *Pritannia* and *Britannia* are unrelated 'rests on no other basis than the assumption that British *p*- could under no circumstances pass into *b*-. The fact, however, is that *Pritan*- and *Britan*- are synonymous.' The *P*- goes back through Diodorus Siculus probably to Pytheas (fourth century B.C.). Polybius (second century B.C.) seems to have used *B*-, but Strabo and Diodorus have *P*-; later Ptolemy and Marcian used *P*-. Stephanus of Byzantium (c. A.D. 500) wrote *B*- twice, remarking that others used *P*-; elsewhere Stephanus himself wrote *P*-.

The surviving forms show that the old *P*- forms had one *t*; thus Welsh *Prydain* (Britain), Middle Welsh *Prydain*, implies *Pritannia*, and Irish *Cruithnech* (Pictish) implies a Pictish *Pritenikos*. The forms with *-on*- had *-tt*-; thus Welsh *Brython* comes from *Brittones*, Breton *Brezonek* comes from *Brittonika*, and Middle Irish *Bretain* (Britons) represents *Brittones* regularly. It was this new form *Brittones* which caused *Britannia* to be spelt with *-tt*-. There is (as Professor Morris Jones goes on to show) no possible doubt that this oldest *B*- form is *Britann*-.

Professor Morris Jones demonstrates further that the Picts were Britons, as shown by the fact that *p*, from the Aryan consonant which we must print here *qu*, abounds in Pictish names. The Picts retained the *P*- in their own name, which also survives in the Welsh *Prydain*, Britain; in this way they came to be distinguished from the Southern Britons, who called themselves *Brittones*. The appellation, *Picti*, which is not known to occur before A.D. 297, seems to be a Latin translation of *Pritenes* (whence the Welsh *Pryden*, Picts), explained as meaning 'figured' (cognate with Welsh *pryd* and Irish *cruth*), just as Welsh *Brithwyr*, Picts, is a translation of *Picti*.

Lastly, there is an Italo-Keltic root, which means 'chalk' or 'white earth,' giving Latin *creta* and Welsh *pridd*, loam, Irish *cre*. 'It may have yielded the name *Pritannia* meaning the island of the white cliffs.'

² *Opera Bedæ* (1843), vi. 312, 315-20. Bede does not name the Badonic Hill in his *De temporum ratione* (*ibid.*, 320) as in his *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 16. In the former, where

three years had elapsed, since the Battle of the Badonic Hill, when the author of the *Excidium Britannicæ* was writing, that battle could not have occurred later than A.D. 725 *minus* 43, that is, A.D. 682.

We have seen that for forty-three years there had virtually been no fighting between the Britanni and the Saxones. There were three quarters where such fighting might have taken place: in the north, between the Strathclyde Britons and the Northumbrians; in the middle, between the Welsh of Wales and the English on their borders; and in the south, between the Devonian Welsh and the West Saxons. In a passage remarkable for its bearing on this point, Bede tells us (*Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 26) that the Strathclyde Britons regained their liberty, *which they had now enjoyed for about forty-six years*, in consequence of the overthrow of King Egfrid of Northumbria at the hands of the Picts on May 20th, 685. The king had rashly led his army *in angustias inaccessorum montium*, into a narrow pass amid inaccessible mountains, where he was slain with the greater part of his forces. It was a crushing defeat from which Northumbria never recovered. 'It marks an epoch,' says Bright,¹ 'it closes a period,—the period of the great Northumbrian kings.' Bede does not name the battle, but it is given elsewhere as *Nechtansmere*, identified with Dunnichen, near Forfar. The Britons knew it as *Gueith Lin Garan*, the Action at *Lin Garan*, where doubtless *Lin*, modern Welsh *llyn*, a lake, is the equivalent of *mere* (*Historia Brittonum*, ch. 57). These names might not exclude an *obsessio Badonici montis*, siege of the Badonic Hill, as an incident of the death grapple amid the inaccessible mountains.² It is precisely the kind of contest we are looking for, decisive, achieved by unexpected help,

he is following the *Excidium Britannicæ*, ch. 26, he has *et ex eo tempore nunc hi, nunc illi palmam habuere donec advena potentior tota per longum potiretur insula*, and from that time now these, now those, held the palm of victory until the more powerful stranger became master of the whole island throughout its length.

¹ *Early English Church History*, 377-8.

² It may even be said for what it is worth that there is a Badanden Hill in the extreme north-west of Forfarshire.

and followed by at least forty-three years of peace. But from what has been said above, it seems evident that the Badonic Hill was fought at least three years prior to *Nechtansmere*.

We must, therefore, quit the north as the scene of the contest and the (at least) forty-three years of peace which followed, and confine our attention to the two quarters in southern Britain where such incidents were possible—Wales and the Devonian peninsula.

If, then, we look to Wales, we find that the Northumbrians, who had long been aggressive against the Britanni of the north, had under Ethelfrith (died 617) and Edwin (died 633) turned their attention to the Britanni of the south. Bede says of Ethelfrith that he ravaged the Britons more than all the kings of the English, that he conquered more territories from them than any other, subduing them, making them tributary, and driving them out. Although much and even most of this refers to contests with Britons of the north, yet in 616-17 we find him fighting southern Britons at Chester, slaughtering twelve hundred of their monks who had entered the field to pray for their compatriots. His successor, Edwin, carried Northumbrian aggression across the sea, reducing under his dominion not only the Isle of Man but even Anglesey. It was at this critical juncture in the history of Wales that Cadwallon, king of Gwynedd, entered into close alliance with Penda, king of Mercia. This was a *coup d'éclat* as well as a *coup de maître*, for Cadwallon was a Christian and Penda a heathen. From that moment the Northumbrian power began to be checked. In 633 Edwin was slain by the allied kings at *Haethfelth* or *Meicen*. In 634 Cadwallon fell at Rowley Water. In 642 Oswald of Northumbria was killed at *Maserfelth* or *Cocboy*¹ on the Welsh border, which indicates the presence of Britons in the contest; and in 655 Penda perished with allied British

¹ *Cocboy* in the *Historia Brittonum*, 65, and the *Annales Cambriæ* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 158). In Cynddelw's *Can Tyssilyaw* it is *Gweith Goguy* (Sir Ed. Anwyl's *Y Gogynfeirdd*, 66). Such forms in modern Welsh might be *Cogwy* and *Cogvy*.

kings on the banks of the R. Went¹ in S.E. Yorkshire. Northumbria was supreme awhile, but under Penda's valiant son, Wulfhere (659-75), the northern supremacy was rolled back. Henceforth we hear of no more fighting between Britanni and Saxones in this quarter, so that if the Badonic Hill was an incident of this particular struggle we should expect to find its occurrence in the early years of Wulfhere's reign.²

Haethfelth or *Meicen*, where Edwin was killed in 633, has never been identified. The common English view is that it was Hatfield, near Doncaster; the Welsh traditional view places it near the Breiddin Hills on the borders of Montgomeryshire and Shropshire. I would not digress here to deal with this battle, were it not for a notable coincidence which just raises a shadow of possibility that it may be the same as the Badonic Hill. This coincidence I must now mention.

An early Welsh mediæval poem called *Marwnad Cadwallon*, an Elegy on Cadwallon, printed in Skene's *Four*

¹ Bede (*H. E.*, iii. 24) states that the battle was fought near the R. *Winwaed*, Oswy finishing the war in the district of Loidis. The *Historia Brittonum*, 64, calls it *strages Gai campi* (one MS. reads *Giti*, the *Annales Cambriæ* has *gavi*). Mr. Phillimore identifies the river with the Went in S.E. Yorkshire, once called *Wynt* (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii. 283). Loidis is usually identified with Leeds. In the *Cambridge Medieval History*, ii. 544, it is identified with Ledstone, near Pontefract, 'where the road from London to York crossed the river Aire.'

² There is no record of fighting between Wales and Mercia during the reigns of Penda (d. 655), Wulfhere (d. 675), Æthelred (retired 704), Coenred (retired 709), and Ceolred (d. 716). 'The border conflict which no doubt went on incessantly during this period' is a mere assumption of Professor J. E. Lloyd (*History of Wales*, 197). It is not till 722 that contests in South Wales are mentioned, viz. the Battles of *Pencon* and *Gart Mailauc*, in both of which the Welsh were victorious. Even these may not have been fought against Mercia, as they are mentioned in conjunction with a third British victory at *Hehil* in the Devonian peninsula, and their sites may be Pencoed and Garth Mailwg not far from the Glamorgan coast.

King Penda of Mercia was the son of Pybba, the son of Creoda, the son of Cynewald, the son of Cnebba, the son of Icel. This was 'the oldest and most noble family, who were called Icelingas.' St. Guthlac (d. 714) belonged to it, his father being Penwall, which Sir John Rhys treats as a Welsh surname signifying 'of the Wall's End' (*Celtic Folklore*, 676). From the known dates of Penda, it is clear that the Icelingas flourished in the English midlands as early as the fifth century. Sir John Rhys refers to other un-English names in this family, including Pybba, Penda, and Peada (*ibid.*, 676). Here we may find a racial cause for the long Mercian-Welsh friendship.

Ancient Books of Wales, ii. 277, fixes *Meicen* near the Breiddin Hills and the R. Severn. *Meicen* was the name of a district which extended below Berriew in Montgomeryshire, on the left bank of the Severn, and probably also over a strip along the right bank of the river, taking in the Long Mountain and the Breiddin Hills.¹ Now the notable coincidence is, that within this ancient district as here defined is discovered *the only known site of a Badonic Hill*. In the thirteenth century we find it called *Kaer Vadon*, that is, Caer Vaddon, the Fort of Baddon, and the reference to it is in the mediæval Welsh tale *Rhonabwy's Dream* (see *White Book Mabinogion*, 105; Guest's *Mabinogion*, Everyman's Library, 141). Rhonabwy fancies that he is going towards Rhyd y Groes (the Ford of the Cross) on the Severn. At the ford he meets Arthur and his suite. Later on they cross the ford *parth a chevyn digoll*, towards Cevn Digoll, i.e. the Long Mountain. Arthur and his army then dismount *od is kaer vadon*, below Caer Vaddon. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, the brilliant and by far the greatest exponent of Welsh place-names, shows conclusively that Rhyd y Groes on the Severn is at Buttington Bridge, and identifies Caer Vaddon with the round camp on the Black Bank or spur of the Long Mountain, south of Cwm y Sûl, and about a mile and a half E.S.E. of Buttington Bridge.² It is the presence of this Badonic Hill in the old district of *Meicen* which seems to hint at the possibility of the *obsessio Badonici montis* being no other than the Battle, or a part of the Battle, of *Haethfelth* or *Meicen*.

¹ *Meicen* is a 'tribal' name derived from *Meic*, one of the brothers of Brochwel Ysgythrog, king of Powys, whose grandson Selyv ab Cynan was slain in the Battle of Chester (616-17): see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii. 183. The old district name of *Meicen* appears to have covered the country below Berriew on the left of the Severn, towards the R. Vyrnwy, which country afterwards bore comparatively modern territorial names, 'and perhaps also extended over a strip along the right bank of the river, including the Long Mountain and the Breiddin Hills.' Mr. Phillimore refers me to the forthcoming volume of Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii. 624.

² Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii. 617-19. The old erroneous view was that Rhyd y Groes lay between Berriew and Forden, but the tale implies that it was below Welshpool and not above it.

The Battle of *Meicen*, however, would imply a *site* so called and not a district (e.g. a Battle of Chester is possible but not a Battle of *Cheshire*). Then there are indications that it was not fought on the Welsh border at all but in or near Deira (Lloyd's *History of Wales*, 186). Possibly the Welsh knew it by a name identical with, or not dissimilar to, their own familiar *Meicen*, and confounded the two in later times. Mr. Phillimore notes the *Meden* river in Sherwood not far from Edwinstowe (Nottinghamshire). Lastly, the Battle of *Meicen* (unless perhaps it can be shown that no further aggressions were made on the Welsh) could hardly be regarded as having begun the period of peace which lasted at least forty-three years, seeing that Cadwallon fell at Rowley Water the following year, and that the Welsh continued (as certainly at the Battle of the R. Went in 655) to assist Mercia in the struggle with Northumbria. I, therefore, leave *Meicen* as I did *Nechtansmere*, neither of which satisfactorily meets the data required. As I have said above, if the Badonic Hill is an incident in the struggle between the Welsh and the Northumbrians, we must expect to find its occurrence in the early years of the reign of Wulfhere (659-75).

Turning now to the borders of the Devonian Welsh, we cannot doubt but that the friendship which the Mercians had formed with the Britanni of Wales was also extended to the Britanni of the Devonian peninsula. There is a notice opposite 614 of Cynegils and Cwichelm fighting and slaughtering many Welsh at a place called *Beandune* which has not been identified. But not until 658, that is, three years after Penda's death, is war between Britanni and Saxones resumed. In that year Cenwalh puts the Welsh to flight as far as the R. Parrett in Somerset. During the Easter of 661 Cenwalh fights at *Posentes-burh*, a place not identified, though often wrongly so, with Pontesbury in Shropshire. Nor is it stated with whom Cenwalh was fighting, but if Mr. Phillimore's suggestion is right that the place was Posbury, near Crediton, in Devon,¹ it must have

¹ Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii. 262.

been with the Welsh. This means that Wulfhere was in alliance with the Devonian Britanni, for he checks from the rear the operations of Cenwalh against them, Wulfhere that same Easter ravaging Wessex as far as Ashdown. So thoroughly was Wessex beaten that Wulfhere strips that kingdom of the Isle of Wight and its other Jutish portion on the mainland opposite, and hands them over to the king of Sussex. From 661 the only record of fighting between Britanni and Saxones in this quarter for well-nigh fifty years is an isolated and somewhat vague entry opposite 682, that Centwin drove the Britons to the sea. With this single exception it was a period of peace till 710. If, then, the Badonic Hill was fought in this neighbourhood, it must have been some time not earlier than 661 and not later than 710 *minus* 43, that is, A.D. 667.

Thus we discover that along the two Welsh borders in southern Britain, that of Wales and the country between the Severn Sea and the English Channel, where fighting between Saxones and Britanni was possible, a period of peace extending over forty-three years set in about the mid-seventh century,¹ at which time in consequence we should expect the decisive victory at the Badonic Hill to have occurred. Moreover, we discover that this tranquil period was due to an unexpected alliance between the Welsh and the Mercians, and it is remarkable that the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* in harking back over forty-three years to the famous victory speaks of it as due to *insperatum auxilium*, unlooked-for assistance, which came about after the astonishing ruin of the island.

¹ Professor J. E. Lloyd (*History of Wales*, 191), speaking of the mid-seventh century, notes that 'it forms an epoch of great importance in the history of the Welsh people; it closes the period of definition, during which they were gradually marked off' etc., etc. Geoffrey of Monmouth had observed the same thing (*Historia Regum Britanniae*, xii. 15-19), and was followed by *Brut y Tywysogion*. Professor Lloyd attributes the occasion to the Battle of the R. Went in 655, Geoffrey to the incidents surrounding the Death of Cadwaladr, which he fixes in 689 owing to his erroneous identification of the Welsh king with Ceadwalla of Wessex, who did die in this year.

A right understanding of the *Excidium Britanniae* indicates that the crucial year was that of the Badonic Hill, which occurred at the very time that Cadwaladr died and the Great Pestilence was raging, viz. 664-5.

Now in the ancient Latin Welsh Chronicle, the so-called *Annales Cambriæ*, completed in the mid-tenth century from older materials, although of course we duly find the legendary *Bellum Badonis*, Battle of Badon, with reference to Arthur, etc., etc., opposite [516], yet we also find opposite [665] an obscure entry, which the tenth-century chronicler has happily rescued from oblivion, though he does not appear to have had any idea of its importance. This entry is *Bellum Badonis secundo*, the Battle of Badon for the second time. Striking out the word *secundo* as due to the misconception popularised by Bede that the original Badon was fought about forty-four years after the Saxon Advent, we appear to have no other alternative than to accept this as the original Badon in question.

I conclude, therefore, that the one and only Battle of the Badonic Hill to which the *Excidium Britannicæ* refers, which Bede mis-dated, and which post-Bedan writers in consequence identified with an Arthurian contest, is that mentioned in the *Annales Cambriæ* opposite annus ccxxi., which in the era of that document is 665.

THE YEAR IMPLIED FOR THE SAXON ADVENT IS 514

Accepting 665 as the date of the victory, we can determine the year when the author of the *Excidium Britannicæ* deemed the Saxones to have first landed from their three ships, for if 665 be the first year of peace, then the century and a half of warfare which preceded it commenced in 514. And this year, 514, is a West Saxon date for an invasion of Wessex. In the Parker MS. of the *Saxon Chronicle* we read:—

514 [MS. A].—Here came the West Saxons, Stuf and Wihtgar, to Britain with three ships at a place which is called *Cerdicesora*; and they fought against the Britons and put them to flight.

In the Laud MS. of the Chronicle this remarkable entry appears in another form, no less remarkable :—

514 [MS. E].—Here the West Saxons came to Britain with three ships at the place which is called *Cerdicesora*; and Stuf and Wihtgar fought against the Britons and put them to flight.

Whichever of these two forms of the entry is nearer the original, both are notable, the first, in that Stuf and Wihtgar should be expressly styled 'West Saxons'; the second, in that after the mention of Cerdic and Cynric's arrival in 495, and Port's arrival in 501, we should now be told that 'the West Saxons came to Britain.'

As I need not remind my readers, the story of the invasion of Wessex as set forth in the *Saxon Chronicle*, which is our only source of information, is in a very manifest state of confusion.¹ I propose to deal with this matter in a separate article. In the meantime it is enough to draw attention to the *peculiarity* of the above entries, in both of which it is insisted that the year 514 marked the arrival of *West Saxons* (that MSS. A and E should give diverse forms of the entry is in itself noteworthy). It was the year when Stuf and Wihtgar were prominent, who are elsewhere associated with the Isle of Wight. *Cerdicesora* has not been identified, but it was obviously in Hampshire. Hence it is in Hampshire that we must look for that first coming of the Saxones to which the *Excidium Britannicæ* refers as having occurred some no small interval after A.D. 446 in *orientali parte insulæ*, in the eastern division of the island.

THE *Excidium Britannicæ* WAS WRITTEN IN 708

Moreover, as 665 was the date of the great victory and forty-three years had elapsed when our author was writing the little book which has had such far-reaching consequences in

¹ See especially Munro Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, 1907, pp. 20-34. Also *Cambridge Medieval History*, i. 389. And for a more popular account Oman's *England before the Norman Conquest*, 223-8.

English and Welsh historical literature, it follows that the actual year in which he was putting his notions together was 665 *plus* 43, that is, A.D. 708. If we knew when he commenced his years, we could even tell the month in which he was writing, for he says it was the forty-fourth year *with one month gone* since the Badonic Hill. Thus he sat down to his task in 708, the second month of the year.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE *Excidium*
Britannice

I must now set forth in modern terms the chronology of the loss of Britain by the Welsh as conceived by our author. Try as I would, I could not conduct my argument with greater clarity than you find. Here, however, are the simple results which may be grasped at a reading.

383-388. The Welsh, occupying the whole island of Britain, combined under Maximus to throw off the Roman yoke. Maximus by draining the island of all its military strength exposes it for the first time in its history to the attacks of two foreign nations from over the water, the Scots from Ireland, and the Picts from some northern habitat beyond John o' Groats.

388-407. In consequence of these attacks, the Welsh appeal for aid to Rome. Twice are Roman legions sent to their assistance, after which the Romans leave the island for ever. The two walls are erected for the first time, the Wall of Antonine and the Wall of Hadrian; also the Forts of the Saxon Shore.

407-446. The Welsh abandon the defence of Scotland, north of the Wall of Hadrian. Scotland is seized by Picts and Scots, who continue their ravages southwards.

446. The Welsh appeal to Rome for the third time. 'To Aetius in his third consulship, come the Groans of the Welsh,' etc. No help comes.

- 446-514. The Welsh win their first victory over the Picts and Scots. The Scots go back to Ireland. The Picts retire beyond the Wall of Antonine and begin to settle in that northern part of the island for the first time. Southern Scotland is thus restored to the Welsh. A period of unprecedented prosperity succeeds. It ends with a fourth arrival of Picts and Scots. A famous pestilence. The Welsh take counsel, and ask the English to come to their help.
514. The English arrive for the first time. They land in three ships in the eastern portion of the island.
- 514-664. The English rebel against the Welsh and drive them completely from the eastern side of southern Britain into Strathclyde, Wales, and the Devonian peninsula. Ambrosius Aurelianus, the last of the Romans, rallies the Welsh and manages in a victory to save them from extinction. The whole period constitutes a century and a half of warfare.
665. The great victory of the Badonic Hill. Warfare between English and Welsh ceases. There is now to be a century and a half of peace, after which the English will cease to occupy Britain. Birth of the author of the *Excidium Britanniae*.
708. This is the forty-fourth year of the great peace, in the second month of which the author of the *Excidium Britanniae* is writing his treatise.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Professor J. E. Lloyd in his *History of Wales*, p. 161, says: 'The authenticity of the *De Excidio* as a real production of the early sixth century is no longer seriously questioned. The MSS. are all of late date, but the extensive use of the work by Bede, who mentions "Gildus" by name (*H. E.*, i 22), makes it impossible to suppose it of later date than A.D. 700.' The answer to this is, that Bede used the *Excidium Britanniae* for his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, written about 730, and also for his *De temporum ratione*, written in 725. The *Excidium Britanniae*, therefore, must have been written before A.D. 725. Bede is not known to have used the book prior to this date (not even for his *De temporibus* written in 702-3), which is a quarter of a century later than what Mr. Lloyd makes it.

Again, on p. 142, Professor Lloyd states that the *Excidium Britanniae* was used

in the seventh century by the author of the *Saxon Genealogies*. The reference of course is to chap. 63 of the *Historia Brittonum*, where occurs the following passage : *in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur*, at that time sometimes the enemy, and now the citizens, were being overcome, with which is to be compared the opening of chap. 26 of the *Excidium Britanniae*, namely, *ex eo tempore nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant*, from that time now the citizens now the enemy were victorious. Doubtless in this the author of the *Genealogies* shows acquaintance with the *Excidium Britanniae*, and it is significant that, whereas Professor Lloyd dates these occasional victories in the fifth century, the author of the *Saxon Genealogies* dates them after St. Augustine's mission in Kent, A.D. 597, and in the seventh century. But, not to dwell on this, Professor Lloyd's statement assumes that the *Saxon Genealogies* is a seventh-century document. In its present form it certainly is not, for the latest known person mentioned is Ecgfrid, son of King Offa of Mercia ; and as Ecgfrid only reigned for a few months in A.D. 796, it looks as though that was the year of this document's appearance. It has been inferred both by Zimmer and Thurneysen that an earlier text was composed in 679, whence doubtless comes Professor Lloyd's unqualified ascription of the *Saxon Genealogies* to the seventh century. But the passage on which those two scholars rely for their supposition, namely, *Ecgfrid filius Osbin regnavit novem annis*, chap. 65, Ecgfrid, son of Oswy, reigned nine years, may easily be due to a slight scribal error, *viii* for *xiii* ; the latter figure would be correct, since Ecgfrith reigned from February 15, 671 to May 20, 685 (see Munro Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, 345).

There can be no doubt in my mind that chap. 56 of the *Historia Brittonum*, the one dubbed *Arthuriana* by Mommsen, was originally written independently of the *Excidium Britanniae*, and perhaps before it. But the present form of that chapter shows indubitable traces of the latter's influence in the matter of Arthur's twelfth victory, where it is bunglingly attempted to identify the same with the siege of the Badonic Hill. Similarly the *Saxon Genealogies* may originally have been written independently of and prior to the *Excidium Britanniae*, but certainly the latter was known to the man who cast the *Genealogies* in the form in which we now have them. This, indeed, may account for the absence in them of all reference to the Badonic Hill, its transference to the Arthurian tractate, and its survival in the *Annales Cambriae*.

AN IONNDRAINN

D. M. N. C.

SIUBHLAIDH sruth 'san duibhre-thràth gu cuan
 A' seinn a dhuain is fughair-luaths 'na cheum,
 Ni eoin nan tonn an cùrsa lom thar stuagh
 An suil na fuar-ghaillinn gu 'n dachaidh fein.
 Is ionnan 's sin bheir mise gaol gu bràth
 Do innis m' àraich ge b' e àird am bi,
 Is gàir a tonn is suaimhneas-fhonn a gràidh
 A chaidh 'gam thàladh gus air m' ais an till.
 Sguabaidh gaoth thar lear ud Innse-Gall,
 Thar chròic nam meall is sgùird nan gleanntan gorm

A' giùlan duan na h-ionndrainn-luaidh a nall,
 Ag innse 'n annsachd a tha thallad orm.
 'O, till a ghaoil, O, till chugainn gun dàil,
 Tha sinn fo phràmh o'n d'fhàg thu sinn ad dhéidh.
 O till a ruin is ligh' ar sùilean blàth,
 Is guidhe Nàduir 'g agairt teachd do cheum.
 An cluinn thu osann 's gal na mara treun
 'G a bualadh féin ri creagan geur' gun tàmh
 Tha bròn 'na cridhe o'n 's i thug thu an céin
 'S a h-eoin gu léir a' luaidh a mulad-dhàin.
 Am faic thu ceann na h-aosda-bheinn fo sgleò?
 An cluinn thu dortaidhean a deoir le gleann?
 Am faic thu niall na h-iarmailt air do thòir
 'S e 'gealltainn dhomh-sa do thabhairt leis a nall?'
 Is léir dhomh sin, a chagair gaoil,—is còrr;
 Is léir dhomh còrsaichean na h-Eorp' gu léir,
 Ach chi mo shùil aon eilean,—duthaich m'òig;
 Aon dachaidh shònruichte d'an toir mi spéis.
 Oir chi mi uam an uchd an Tabh 'san Iar
 (Far 'n caidil grian 's an coinnich niall an sàil)
 Aon eilean rath,—aon innis fhilath 'bha riamh
 Is ceòl nan siontainnean 'g a chur mu thàmh.
 A dh' aindheoin cath is boile 'n t-saoghail mhóir,
 A dh' aindheoin nòrr is naimhdeas-chomhrag sluaigh
 Tha sonas, gaol is sith is daonnachd-chòir
 A' riaghladh glòrmhor ann a' sud gu buan.
 Chi mi 'n ceathach 'g éirigh bharr a ghnùis,
 A' sgiathadh ciuin is mar ghuth ciuil ro-shéimh:
 Cha cheò a th'ann, ar leam gur h-ann sud tùis
 A' giùlan ùrnaighean nam bith gu neamh,
 Chi mi muir a' tòchdadh cas ma 'chuaire
 Is thig gu m' chluais guth mhuillein stuagh air tràigh,
 Ach 's ann le cinnt' 'tha ise 'strith gach uair
 A chumail truaillidheachd gun tigh'n 'na dhàil.
 Mar eadhon ainbhidh 'caidreabh gin a cléibh
 Le barrachd eud 'n uair ni o bhèud a dhion,
 Mar sin a phògas a' mhuir mhòr le dèidh
 A h-innis fheudalach, mo dhachaidh mhiann.
 O, m' innis ruin is beannaicht' cor nan daoine
 A chaitheas saoghal ann ad shaorsa mhàin,
 O, 's saoi bhir iadsan nach robh riamh o d' thaobh
 Is culaidh-dhaorsa sin do neach a thà.
 Iarraidh truaghain saoi bheas, staid is glòir
 Is air an tòir bidh iad fo leòn gach là:
 Saoilidh 'n t-ollamh gur' h-e oilean chorr

'N aon iuchair òir a dh' fhosgla dorsan Aigh.
 O, 'n fhaoineis mhór a rinn air gliocas tàir;
 A dhibir Nadur is a fàintean aosd!
 Bheir dhomh-sa talamh, muir is adhar 's slàint',
 Mo dhachaidh 's Nadur ann am ìnnis naoimh.
 Na cluinneam guth air feall-aghartas gun uail,
 Air oilean fhuar ni 'n t-anam truaillidh breun,
 Ach èisdeam ceòl na Cruitheachd móir, bith-bhuain
 Is cuiream suas mo thaing le spiorad gleust:
 Dean fuireach beag, a ghaoil, is thèid mi null,
 Na bi fo chùram ged tha 'n tìne mall,
 Oir sgaoilidh seòl ri deathaich bheò as ùr
 Is i 'gam ghiùlan gu ruig thusa thall.

THE COOKING OF THE GREAT QUEEN

(FULACHT NA MÓRRIGNA)

DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D.

THE passage from folio 10^b of MS. V. Edinburgh, which the late lamented Professor Mackinnon printed at p. 74 of vol. viii. of this Review, 'this very interesting piece of lore,' as he characterises it, deserves a further study. There are, as he states, brief notices of the Great Queen's ¹ 'Fulacht,' or cooking, in the Yellow Book of Lecan, and H. 3. 18., Trinity College, Dublin. Petrie, in his *History and Antiquities of Tara Hill*, pp. 213-14, prints all these notices in full. With the mention of the Great Queen's Fulacht, or cooking apparatus, is generally joined a mention of the Dagda's ² 'Indeoin' and Deichen's Spit. Thus in one of the triads edited by Kuno Meyer,³ we find the following: 'tréde neimthigedar gobainn, Bir Neithin, fulacht na morrigna, inneóin in Dagda,' which Kuno Meyer translates 'three things that constitute a blacksmith, Neithin's spit, the cooking hearth of the Morrigan, the Dagda's anvil.'

¹ The Bellona, or war goddess of the Irish.

² The greatest of the Tuatha De Danann, obviously a god.

³ R. I. A. Todd Lecture Series, vol. xiii. p. 16.

But the *n* of Neithin¹ is obviously the eclipsing *n* of the neuter word *bir*, a spit, and the Dagda's anvil is not an anvil at all but a cooking-machine. Professor Mackinnon also translates it by anvil, which, of course, is the general meaning, but the word *indeónad*, to broil or cook in some way, is of constant occurrence in the 'Agallamh na Senórach,' a thirteenth-century (?) text, and the Indeóin was obviously the utensil or gridiron upon which the indeónadh was carried out. It is quite plain from the passages I am about to quote, that it cannot possibly mean an anvil, as an anvil could not have 'twice nine spits and twice nine holes.'

My attention was called to the passages I am about to give by a MS. about a hundred and ten years old, which Mac Giolla Phádraig (in English Lord Castletown) gave me a few years ago, which he had picked up somewhere in Scotland. I found it contained amongst other things a quantity of matter belonging to the 'Agallamh na Senórach,' the longest and most valuable of all the Ossianic sagas, things, too, which, as they were neither in O'Grady's nor Stokes's edition, pointed to a completely different version, containing different matter. The MS. of part of which this was a copy, I afterwards found. It is one of the Mac Adam MSS., which were bought by the late Bishop Reeves. At Reeves's death a number of these, mainly through the generosity of my late friend, the Rev. Maxwell Close, found their way into the Royal Irish Academy.² Many other most valuable MSS., however, were allowed to be scattered to the four winds of heaven. This particular MS., of which I have made a transcript in Roman letters, is apparently a seventeenth-century copy of a thirteenth-century (?) text. It is at least twice as long as the hitherto known versions given by O'Grady and Stokes.

I afterwards found a variant of these passages about the

¹ In the Yellow Book of Lecan he is called Nechin, but in every other case that I have met with he is Dechen or Deichen.

² See my *Literary History of Ireland*, note on p. 376.

Great Queen's 'Fulacht' in the Book of Lismore. This MS. is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, but I possess a splendid facsimile transcript, line for line, word for word, and letter for letter, the same as the original, made by the great scribe O'Longan, and afterwards carefully compared with the vellum, and from this I transcribe the following passages, which I compare with the version in the Reeves MS.

As to this new edition of the 'Agallamh,' I may remark that there is probably not a century from the birth of Christ onwards that this story does not incorporate in itself some folklore or other concerning it, and in few pieces is this tendency to preserve ancient traditions more marked than in the following poems, which I have annotated as well as I could. I think many of the names mentioned represent real or mythological characters drawn from our literature. Probably nearly all the names would be found to represent real characters, if only we had the lost literature before us in which we might look for them.

It is hard to reconstruct a picture of the cooking hearth and the spit and the Indeoin. They seem to have all belonged to the same invention, continuously improved, by which water was used as a motive force to turn rows of spits, and perhaps gridirons, which were so arranged that they could keep at a due distance from the heat, rising when the fire was high, and falling when the fire was low, keeping hot what was already cooked, and cooking what was raw, and melting automatically a proper supply of butter for basting. According to the passage in the Yellow Book of Lecan Nechin [Deichin] was the chief smith of the Tuatha De Danann at Tara. 'He made a spit with motion that it might reach the fire.' The MS. H. 3. 18. says that the Dagda's Indeoin 'used to lie with the cinders and rise with the flame.' The Indeoin is thus described: 'This is how it was, a stick at each end of it, and its axle was wood, and its wheel was wood, and its body was iron, and there were twice nine wheels on its axle that it might turn the faster,

and there were thirty spits out of it and thirty hooks and thirty spindles, and it was as rapid as the rapidity of a stream in turning,¹ and thrice nine spits, and thrice nine cavities (or pots) and one spit for roasting, and one wing used to set it in motion.'

A further notice in the same MS. explains the Great Queen's Fulacht thus: 'Three kinds of victuals on it, dressed victuals and raw victuals and butter, and the dressed food was not burnt, and the raw food was dressed, and the butter was not melted but just as was proper.' The Yellow Book of Lecan adds 'even though the three were together on one spit.' This MS. describes the Indeoín, and says, 'It used to be raised to the height of a man when it was desired, and it was not higher over the fire another time than a fist, on the same legs, without breaking, without diminishing—that was natural, for its material was iron.'

In the Yellow Book of Lecan there is a picture of a single spit beside this description, with several joints spitted on it, their alternate sides being red, as if done over the fire. This redness of course does not show in the facsimile.

The Dagda, the Great Queen, and probably Deichen, are purely mythological characters, but surely there must have been some historical basis for the description of the spit, the cooking-hearth, and the Indeoín.

[The story has just been told of Caoilte's adventures, and how his servant and his two hounds had been swallowed up in Loch Gur. One of the Tuatha De Danann who lived in a *sidh* mound near had transformed himself into a deer and had tempted them to pursue him into the lake, where they were drowned. The name of the De Danann chief was Fer Aoi, who is undoubtedly the same being as Fer Fi, who is generally supposed to have lived in Cnoc Aine in the County Limerick. He was brother to Aine who bit off Oilioll Olum's ear, and his father was Eogabal, who had been

¹ Caoilte says that it was not worked without water, *i.e.* that water was necessary to turn it.

killed by Oilioll Olum. It was in revenge for this that he brought about the battle of Magh Muchruime and the death of Eoghan Mór and of Oilioll's seven sons. There is a long unedited poem about him in the Book of Leinster, and about the enchanted yew tree which he made, which was really not a yew tree at all, and which raised the dispute between Eoghan Mór and Lughaidh Lágha. See the Battle of Magh Muchruime in *Silva Gadelica*, also vol. ii. p. 575. See also Kuno Meyer's *Fianaigeacht*, Todd Lecture Series, R. I. A., pp. 32-34, where he is called Fer I.]

[*Translation from the text in the Book of Lismore*]

They passed that night at the Rock of Loch Gair,¹ sorrowfully, until the early morning of the next day, and then they proceeded eastwards into Mairtine of Munster and the highway of Cnamhchoill² and into the old plain of Breogan, and into the Low Ford, and into Bealach na nGeinte mBandruagh across the Ford of Connath the son of Unéit, and from Findmagh Feimen³ and Druin Dil meic da Chreaca and to Uaran Brain on one side of the fairy mound of Feimin,⁴ and they remain there for it was an extensive thicket and an uninhabited wood. And Caoilte said, 'Let us hunt here.' And this they did. And [the loss of] their gillie was a calamity for them. Because it was they themselves who had to make⁵ a bothy for themselves that night, and a broiling-of-food [indeónadh] was made by them. And Caoilte and Finnachaidh go down to the stream to wash their hands.

'This is a cooking-place,' said Finnachaidh, 'and it is a long time since it was made.'

'That is true,' said Caoilte, 'and this is the cooking-place [Fulacht] of the Great Queen. And it is not to be worked⁶ without water, and the five sons of Eochaidh of

¹ Now Loch Gur, Co. Limerick.

² Now Clegghill, near the town of Tipperary.

⁴ This was probably Bodb's *sidh*.

⁶ Literally, 'to be made' or 'done.'

³ In Co. Tipperary.

⁵ Literally, 'made.'

the Red Eyebrows¹ it was who made it, Fat Fet Flann En and Enach, and he made the lay.'

The cooking hearth of the Great Queen over there
Escar Aonghabh prepared it,
The Indecoin of the Dagda that was strong
of the nice-workmanship of Grinne² son of Luchtar.

Of wood was its central-shaft, of wood its smooth wheel,
between water and strong fire,
Of Iron was its body, there was never its like,
with moving hooks³ on one of its two forks.

Twice nine pulleys in its great centre-shaft
with ready activity a-turning,
Thirty spits used to project out of it,
Thirty pot hooks, thirty spindles.

The sail . . . wonderful its shape—
Through the vigour of Grinde . . .
On the opposite side were . . .
The activity of its spits the activity of its [master] spit.

Thrice nine spits, thrice nine perforations,⁴
From the Indecoin of the brown Dagda
One [great] spit used to sustain it for cooking⁵ [?]
[There] Eochaidh Ollathuir fell.⁶

One wing,⁷ its activity was manifest,
One man used to set-it-a-going
Against [?] a huge fire inside yonder ;
It was a splendid piece-of-smiths-work.

¹ He is mentioned in the Dinnseanchas of Ath Liag Finn as having sons contemporaneous with Finn Mac Cumhaill. One of the two provinces of Munster was called the 'province of Eochaidh Abhradruidh,' but in Stokes's *Agallamh*, p. 33, he is called 'righ Uladh atuaidh.'

² He is called Drinde'mac Luchair in H. 3. 18. Luchté, or Luchtainé, or Luchtain, was the carpenter of the Tuatha De Danann.

³ Literally, 'hooks of activity.'

⁴ Perhaps for holding the butter.

⁵ Or 'to the west' ? *Fuine* = cooking, *fuined* = sunset.

⁶ This is obscure. It may allude to some story of E. O. (another name for the Dagda) being caught in the apparatus. His name occurs in the *Cóir Anmann*, and is explained as Oll-athair, i.e. greater was he than his father, or a great father to the Tuatha De Danann was he. See p. 355 *Irish Texts*, iii. 2 heft.

⁷ Sciath, usually 'a shield,' is used for sciathan, a wing in 'Cuchulain's sick-bed.'—Windisch, *Irish Texts*, p. 207.

THE COOKING OF THE GREAT QUEEN 341

The spit of Deichen made by clean Goibniu,
The cooking-hearth, the Indecin, were perfected by him.
He promised that 'smiths triad,'¹
There was no smith to be compared with Goibniu.

No smith in Magh Ai² is competent
after Loech, after Ealcha,
my grief (!), it is not for them it is hard ;
No more is the cooking-hearth capable of working.

'That is a joy for us [to hear], O Caoilte,' said Finnachaidh, 'and those were good men.' And they departed to their hunting-bothy after that to their companions, and they ate what-they-had-cooked ['fulacht'], and they slept on their couches.

.

They went forward then till they reached the Plain of Thorns and into *Máin-da-glas*, and into Slieve *Uighi*³ of Leinster, into *Cubhat* of the druidesses, into Dun Cinn, into *Fotharta feda* and to *Rath Mháta mursci*, and into *Ess Gabhair*, and across the pool streams of *Grissi*⁴ and to Maisten of the Kings. They came into Mullach Maisten⁵ and to Goibniu's forge.

'Tell me, Caoilte,' said Finnachaidh, 'was it here the weapons for the Battle of Magh Tuireadh were made, and Deichin's Spit and the Great Queen's cooking-place and the Dagda's Indecin ?'

'In yonder glen, below there, Deichin's Spit was made, and Deichin the druid, it was he who made it' [said Caoilte].

¹ See the triad already quoted. Goibniu or Goibhnenn was the smith of the Tuatha De Danann.

² Thus Reeves MS.

³ Aliter Sliabh Suidi Laigen, in the diocese of Leithghlinn, now Mount Leinster.

⁴ The river Griese flows into the Barrow three and a half miles above the town of Carlow.

⁵ Mullaghmast, a name terrible in after times for the awful act of treachery there carried out against the O'Mores and their correlatives, is about five miles north-east of the town of Athy.

I

It was Deichin who made Deichin's Spit
for (?) Goibhniu in Glen Treichim,
In the possession of Lugh [the Long-handed]¹ of much valour,
It was made in the Tribe of Nuadha.²

II

Eleven men in yonder house
of the fair children of Eithleann,
They made the manly cooking-place,
one of the eleven was their lord [*i.e.* Lugh].

III

Lugh [the Long-handed], Angus óg of the Brugh,³
Cearmat,⁴ Mider,⁴ the son of Scala.
Cu and Cian⁵ and Ceithean from the plain
Iucharba Uar and Iuchair.⁶

IV

Lugair Tua Ten who was powerful
Confa, Aicher, most lovely the band,
Eni the small, and Eni the big,
Gola the stammerer, and Cessón.

V

In the time of Eirimoin from the South⁷
In Tara, strong the conflict,
Nine men rose up to attend to it
of the children of Míle of Spain.⁸

¹ The leader of the Tuatha De Danann, the hero of the Battle of Moytura, whose father was the Eithleann mentioned in the next verse.

² Nuada or Nuadu of the silver hand, king of the Tuatha De Danann. See Battle of Moytura.

³ *i.e.* Angus of the Boyne, constantly mentioned in Irish romance.

⁴ These were sons of the Dagda himself.

⁵ Son of Diancecht, and father of the god Lugh the Long-handed according to some.

⁶ Gods of the Tuatha De Danann. 'Brian' is generally substituted for Uar. Their death is told in the saga of the Death of the Children of Tuireann.

⁷ When the Milesians conquered the Tuatha De Danann, Eremoin, son of Milesius, took the north of Ireland. From him come the Eremonian families, *i.e.* the great reigning families of Ulster, Connacht, and parts of Leinster.

⁸ *i.e.* of the Milesians in contradistinction to the Tuatha De Danann, who had made the spit.

VI

In the time of Iugoine¹ the celebrated,
[Presiding] over Deichin's Spit belonging to the Daghdha
There were eight men in Tara of the flocks
who were able to keep it working.

VII

Aighe and Lughaidh of the ales,
Croine and Ere and Eilleann [and]
Three sons of Glas from Glen an Scáil
Often used they come to it.

VIII

With the king of celebrated beauty
whose name was Eochaidh Feidhleach;²
One man and six [*i.e.* seven], fair the lot,
were at the cooking of Goibniu's Spit.

IX

Eoghan Eireann, Eochaidh the Rough
and Cobhthach who used to hurl weapons,
Lughaidh, Finn, Fiacha of the feasts,
Moran and Daire of the white teeth.

X

King Conor in Emania³ had
Deichin's spit after him [Eochaidh],
Five warriors and one woman, no lie,
Who were able to attend and work it.

¹ Iugain or Ugaine the Great, celebrated for his division of Ireland into twenty-five parts. He died, according to the Four Masters, 594 years B.C. There was evidently once a cycle of saga-telling centring round him and his sons Laeghaire, Lorc, Cobhthach, and Breagh, and his grandson Labhraidh Loingseach. The names here mentioned are perhaps taken from such a cycle, now lost.

² Eochaidh 'Feidleach,' Eochaidh 'of the Long-sighs,' as Keating uncritically explains the word, was father of Mève (Medb), Queen of Connacht, who waged the celebrated war of the Tain Bo Chuailgne some time before the Christian era. He came to the throne, according to the Four Masters, a hundred and forty-two years before Christ.

³ King of Ulster and the Red Branch. Cuchulain fought under him.

XI

Naoise¹ and Ceithirnn² with victory,
 [King] Conor,³ Cuchulainn the hardy,⁴
 And Fedlim⁵ whom men used to . . .
 Mesdeghadh [Mesgedradh ?]⁶ son of Amirgin.

XII

Four men tended the cooking amongst the Fianna,
 One of them was Finn himself,
 Oisin, Caoilte, and loved Diarmid,
 They used to set-going the Spit of Deichen.

XIII

In the time of Lughaidh [the Long-handed] it had ten sides
 And ten edges that were not thin,
 These were in Deichin's Spit of which men used to speak,
 Until the time of Eochaidh Feidhleach.

XIV

In the time of Eochaidh Feidhleach son of Finn
 Bernn a smith who was not feeble
 Makes eight sides and eight edges, of a time, [they lasted]
 Down to [the days of] King Conor of the Red Branch.

XV

From Conor the high and renowned
 Echelsach of Emania⁷ makes
 Six blades, six with sides thereto,
 Until came Finn the Fenian Prince.

¹ He who eloped with Deirdre.

² Cethern son of Fintan, for whom see Windisch's *Tain Bo Chuailgne*, p. 605 ff., where he figures conspicuously, a whole chapter of the *Tain* being given up to him under the title of 'Cethern's bloody wound.'

³ King of Ulster.

⁴ 'Fortissimus heros Scottorum.'

⁵ This is the 'one woman' mentioned in the last verse. She appears in H. 2. 17., a fourteenth-century vellum in Trinity College, Dublin, as one of the 'queens' of the Ulster folk, who by unrobing themselves before Cuchulainn caused him to look down out of modesty and so turn aside from the heat of his passion which King Conor feared he was about to wreak upon the men of Ulster. I do not know anything else about her, but from her being mentioned here she probably figured in some other saga.

⁶ Of whose brain the ball was made which lodged in King Concubhair's head.

⁷ This smith's son, Amargin Mac Ecelsalaigh Goband, is several times mentioned in the *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. The name is variously spelt in the genitive Ecel-salaig,

XVI

A flock of sharp-points ? Finn made,
 A Spit of four sides, fine its points,
 four edges . . .
 Used to be [then] on Deichin's Spit.

[*Text from the Book of Lismore*]

Badur ind oidhchi sin i carraic locha Gair, co dubhach co mucha lai ar na mharach ocus ghabsat rompu sair, im Mairtine Mumhan ocus a slighidh Chnamhcoille ocus a senmhagh mBreoghain ocus in áth íssel ocus a mbealach na ngeinte mbandruagh, tar áth Conuaith meic Únéit ocus a Find-magh Feimin ocus do druim dil meic da Chreaca, ocus co h-uaran Brain ar lettaibh tshígha Feimin, ocus anaid ann, uair droibel fairsing ocus ditreabh fedha hí, ocus atbert Cailti, dentur seale lind annso, ocus dó righneadh, ocus bá dainim dóibh an gilla. Uair ba hiat fein do rinde both doibh ind oidhchi sin, ocus do rindeadh indeonadh leo, ocus teit Cailti ocus Findchaidh do innladh a lámh chum in tsrotha.

'Inadh fulachta so,' ar Findchaidh, 'ocus is cian o do rindeadh.'

'Is fír,' ar Cailti, 'ocus fulacht na morrigna so, ocus ní dénta gan uisci, ocus cúic mic Eachach Abradruaidh do rinde .i. Fat ocus Fet Flann ocus Ēn ocus Enach,' ocus do rinde in laidh.

I

Fulacht na morrighna anall
 Do gres escair aonghabh.
 Indecoin in Daghdha ba druin
 Do grés Grinne mic Luchtair.¹

Ecet-shalaigh, and in Cormac's *Glossary*, *Eculsaig* (see under 'Greth'). He lived on the river, Buais or Bush. In the *Book of Leinster*, p. 117b, his story is told *bái goba amra i n-Ultaib .i. Eccetsalach goba a ainm*, etc. His son Amargin afterwards became ard-ollamh of Ulster. See *T. B. C.*, p. 697.

¹ This verse is omitted in the Reeves MS., which I call R, the page which probably contained it being missing.

II

Crann a mol, crand a roth réidh
 Etir uisci is theinidh thréin,
 Iarand a chorp iar samhail¹
 Baccain lúth ar² a lethghabhail.

III

Da nae³ roithlenn in a⁴ mhol mór
 Fa lúth athlamh ac impódh,
 Tricha bir do bhídís ass
 Tricha drol, tricha fertas.⁵

IV

Séol saithe⁶ ba hingnad cruth⁷
 Re lúth Grinde⁸ lucht a ruth
 Don taoibh anall ba treana
 Lúth a bir,⁹ lúth a beara.

V

Tri nae mbeara, tri nae tuill,
 A hindeoin in Daghdha dhuind,
 Aon bhir no 's 'fuilngedh re fuin¹⁰
 Foche¹¹ Eochaidh Ollathuir.¹²

VI

Aen sciath a lúth ro bo léir¹³
 Do indleadh aoin fher da réir
 Astor theinedh¹⁴ astigh thall
 Ro bo daithe in grés gabhann.¹⁵

VII

Bir Dechten¹⁶ re Goibnend¹⁷ nghlan
 Fulacht indeoin ro forbadh
 Treidhe¹⁸ gobhann sin ro gheall¹⁹
 Nír thecht gobha re Ghoibhneand.

¹ ni bhíodh a shamhail, R.

⁴ Read 'na' for 'in a' for the metre.

⁷ fa coemh a cruth, R.

¹⁰ iar soin, R.

¹³ ar a luidh ba leir, R.

¹⁶ nirsat úaithe angeis gabhann, R.

¹⁷ Fri Goibhneann, R.

² ba caoin lucht a, R.

⁵ fantais, R.

⁸ Gréine, R.

¹¹ ad chear, R.

¹⁴ ar túr teine, R.

¹⁸ Treicche, R.

³ fhichit, R.

⁶ Raithe, R.

⁹ dhrol, R.

¹² Ollathaigh, R.

¹⁶ ndeichin, R.

¹⁹ rodus geall, R.

VIII

Ni tualaing gabha ar mo ga¹
 Tar eis Laich² tar éis Ealcha³
 Mo dhaighir⁴ ni dóibh is docht
 Ní mó is tualaing in fulocht.⁵

‘Is gairdiughadh duind sin a Chailti,’ ar Findchaidh, ‘ocus is maith in mhuindter sin,’ ocus do chuadar da fhianbhoith iar sin, do chum a n-aosa cumtha, ocus ro chaithset a ffulacht, ocus ro chotailset in a n-imdhaighibh.

Lodur rompu, i cend Maighi Draighen, ocus a Máin da glas, ocus i sliabh Uighi Laighen. A cubhat na mbandruagh, a ndun cind, i fothartaibh feda, ocus do raith mháta mursci ocus a ness gabhair ocus tar sruth-lindtibh gressi ocus co maistin na righ. Tancatur a mullach maisten ocus co ceardecha ghoibhnend.

‘Maith a Chailti,’ ar Findchaidh ‘in ann so do righneadh airm chatha Mhaighi Turedh ocus bir Deichin, ocus fulacht na Morrighna ocus indeoin in Daghdha?’

‘Annas glend út tshis do righneadh bir Deichin,’ ocus Deichin draí isse do righne hé.

I

Deichen do rin bir Deichin
 Ar Goibhnenn⁶ a nglind Treichim.
 Ar seilb Logha, linibh gal,⁷
 Do roighneadh atreibh Nuadhan.⁸

II

Aen fher déc isin tigh thall
 Do clandaibh áille Eithleand.⁹
 Do níth in fulacht ferrdha
 Ba dibhsein a tighearna.

¹ a Moigh Ai, R.

² Loich, R.

³ Ealcai, R.

⁴ Dhaighfhir is doibh is cuicht, R.

⁵ an fear soin, R.

⁶ gan iomroll, R.

⁷ A cheville which occurs in the Agallamh as well as in the Tain bo Cuailgne and elsewhere.

⁸ dia taisceadh a ttreabh Nuadhan, R.

⁹ Annan, R.

III

Lugh Aonghas ócc in brogha
 Cermat Midir mac Scala¹
 Cu is Cian is Ceithean don mhaigh
 Iucharbha Uar is Iuchair.²

IV

Re lind Eirimoin aneas³
 I Teamhraigh, ba trén a treas,
 Naonmar ro éirigh⁴ na dháil
 Do chlandaibh Milidh Espain.

V

Lugair, Tua, Ten, fa-tend,⁵
 Confa, Aicher, áille in dream.⁶
 Ení⁷ bec is Ení⁷ mór
 Gola mend, ocus Cessón.⁸

VI

Re re Iughaine amra
 Os bir Dechin in Daghdha
 Ochtur i Temhraigh na tréd
 Ba tualaing a imchoimét.

VII

Aighe⁹ ocus Lughaidh na lenn
 Croine ocus Ere is Eilleand.¹⁰
 Tri mic Glais a glind in scail
 Tric do theigdis na comhdhail.

VIII

Accón¹¹ righ ba hamra dath
 Dar comhainm Eochaidh Feidhleach,
 Fer ar sheisir, seghdha in dream,¹²
 Ac fulacht bheara Goibhneand.¹³

¹ Sola, R.³ Rodfeas, R.⁵ Lughar Tuace Teanbha teann, R.⁷ Éna, R.⁹ Aodh, R.¹¹ Ag an, R.¹³ os fulacht feadha Goibhneann, R.² Uar Iucharbha Iobhar, R.⁴ Naonbur theicceadh, R.⁶ Caithfhear aillne drem, R.⁸ Eremhón, R.¹⁰ Crom agus Earc is Iollainn, R.¹² fear is seisear a dream, R.

IX

Eoghan Eirenn¹ Eochaidh garbh
 Ocus Cobhtac² caithheadh arm
 Lughaidh Find, Fiacha na fhleadh
 Morann is Daire déidgheal.

X

Ro bhoí ic *Concubhur* ind Emhuin³
 Bir Deichin ina dheghaidh.
 Cúicer⁴ laoch aen ben ní bréc,
 Ba tualaing a imchoimhét.

XI

Naíssi ocus Ceithirnn combuaidh
Concubur, Cuchulaind cruaidh,
 Is Feidlim no 's 'foirrgéadh fir⁵
 Mesdeghadh mac Aimirghein.

XII

Cethrur mun fhulacht sa Fhéinn
 Ro bo dibhsidhein Find féin,
 Oisín Cailti Diarmaid dil
 Ro indlidis⁶ bir Deichin.

XIII

Deich slesa re lind Lagha
 Deich fhaebhuir, nír bo tana,⁷
 Ar bir Deichin luaighdis fir
 Co haimser Eochach Feidhligh.

XIV

Re h-Eochaidh Feidleach mac Find
 Gnid Bernn Gobha⁸ nar bó tim
 Ocht slesa is ocht faobhuir uair⁹
 Co *Concubur* on Craebhruidh.

¹ Eocchan Eare is, R.

² Cobhthach Cobhthaigh, R.

³ ac *Conchobhar* a n-Eamhuin | Baoi bior ndeichin na dheaghaidh, R.

⁴ Cuiccear laoch, R.

⁵ na ffoirrgedís fir, R.

⁶ Ro innlimís, R. This is right, because Caoilte is speaking, but the mention of his name with those of the other Fenians shows how these old poems were pressed into the service of the saga-teller, with hardly an alteration.

⁷ aith iomghona, R.

⁸ Do niodh Goibhneann, R.

⁹ chruaidh, R.

XV

O *Conchubur* ard *amra*
 Do nídh *Echéisach Eamhna* ¹
 Se faobhuir se slessa ar sin
 Co *toracht* Find flaithfheindigh.

XVI

Elta áithe ² do gnith Find
 Bir cheithri sles, seghdha a rind,³
 Ceithri faobhuir, *forumh* ⁴ ndhil,
 Bidís ar in mbir nDheichin.—DEICHIN.

THE DEATH OF DIARMAD

WILLIAM J. WATSON, M.A., LL.D.

THE events of the Diarmad and Grainne saga are traditionally placed in the third century of our era. Grainne, the young and beautiful daughter of Cormac mac Airt, High King of Ireland, was married to the Fian chief Fionn mac Cumhail, who was now elderly. Falling in love with Diarmad, the handsomest of the Fian, she prevailed on him to elope with her, which they did from the wedding feast. The pursuit (*Tóraighecht*) of the pair forms a tale by itself. It appears to have ended in some sort of reconciliation, but Fionn, characteristically deep-minded, bided his time, and the poem given below shows the manner of his revenge. Careful study of the versions discloses as the proximate cause a gambling match (*imirt*) between Fionn and Diarmad, the latter of whom especially was noted for his skill in the game. The conditions were, as usual in such cases, fixed definitely. If Diarmad won, we are to suppose, though this part is not actually stated, that he was to be entitled to choose whatever he liked (*a rogha*), and the natural choice would be the lady Grainne. If, on the other hand, Diarmad

¹ airdrí eassadhal, R.

³ Bior cheathar shleas seaghdha irinn, R.

² ealt aigde, R.

⁴ fothramb, R.

lost, Fionn was to rouse from its lair the magic boar of the breed possessed by the famous Fomorian Balor of the evil eye, and Diarmad was to produce a warrior of the Fian fit to match it (*a dhiongbháil de laoich na Féinne*). If the boar was slain Diarmad was still to claim any reward he chose for the deed (*a rogha d'a chionn*). In these conditions, so attractive in all appearance, we have the evidence of the deep and subtle guile (*foill*) that underlay Fionn's apparent generosity. In the event, Fionn won the match and routed out the boar, whereupon Diarmad, as a matter of course, undertook the task of slaying it (*gabhar leis do làimh an torc*). The sequel is set forth in the Lay of Diarmad: the *aithed* (elopement) ended in an *oided* (tragedy).

The text given here is that of the Book of the Dean of Lismore, written about or before the year 1512, and printed from the transcript of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Cameron of Brodick, in *Reliquiae Celticae*, vol. i. Dr. Cameron's modern Gaelic version given on the opposite pages leaves a good deal to be desired. The *Revue Celtique* (vol. xxxiii.) contains an improved redaction in Irish Gaelic. I have consulted with benefit and grateful appreciation both these editions of the Dean's difficult and rather erratic phonetic version. Other versions of the poem, or of part thereof, are contained in *Reliquiae Celticae*, vol. i. p. 166 (Edin. MSS., good, but unfortunately only a fragment); 274 (Macfarlane Collection); 323 (MacLagan MSS.); *Leabhair na Féinne*, pp. 153 *seqq.* (six versions); *Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. iii. p. 75 (also prose versions); *The Fians*, p. 60 (*Waifs and Strays*, vol. iv.). These versions, taken together, afford much help to the understanding of the Dean's text. The chief differences therefrom are two. Most of them agree in making Grainne present on the occasion of the boar hunt, and in warning Diarmad that a trap is being laid for him. Most of them also insert the episode of Diarmad's request to Fionn for one drink of water from Fionn's cup of healing. That, as it turns out with grim dramatic irony, is Diarmad's *rogha*, and that Fionn refuses. Herein lies Fionn's

treachery and dishonour: he will not implement the terms of the wager (*geall*). Both these passages, the latter of which is of the essence of the tale, are omitted in the Dean's text, which is therefore to that extent dramatically incomplete.

Another point is that in the Dean's text, as printed in *Reliquiae Celticae*, the sixth quatrain is undoubtedly, in my opinion, misplaced, and I have put it in what seems to me its proper place, after the eighth quatrain of the original text. Thus the quatrains, which originally run 5, 6, 7, 8, are printed below in the order 5, 7, 8, 6. This sequence helps to bring out the background of the poem, which as usual is only hinted at in the poem itself, and which, so far as known to me, has not been quite understood.

BÁS DIARMAID

A H-UGHDAIR SO AILEAN MAC RUAIRIDH

1

Gleann Sídh an gleann so ri m' thaoibh,
Am binn faoidh eun agus lon,
Minig rithidís an Fhéinn
Air an t-srath so an déidh an con.

2

An gleann so fa Bheinn Ghulbain ghuirm
As áilde tulcha fa ghréin,
Níor bh'ainneamh a shrutha gu dearg
An déidh a shealg o Fhionn na Féinn'.

3

Eisdidh beag madh áil leibh laoidh
Air a' chuideachd chaoimh so chuaidh,¹
Air Bheinn Ghulbain 's air Fhionn féil,
'S air Mac Ua Dhuibhne, sgeul truagh.

¹ a chwdy^t cheive so woymm (woyin ?), D., i.e. a chuideachd chaoimh so bh (bhuainn ?); ar an cuidecht caoim so ch', R. C., p. 166.

4

Do iomair Fionn,¹ fa truagh an sgealg,
 Air Mac Ua Dhuibhne as dearg lì,
 Dhol do Bheinn Ghulbain do shealg
 An tuirc nach féadann airm a dhith.

5

Le Mac Ua Dhuibhne an airm àigh
 Do b'e gu'n torchair an torc,
 Geallair uaithe² le fhoill Fhinn,
 Is sè e sin rinn do lochd.

6

A dhiongbhàil de laoch na Féinn'
 Dan cuireadh e as a' chnoc
 An seann torc sìdhe bu gharbh,
 Do bh'aig Balar 'na shealbh muc.

7

Shuidhich Fionn as deirge dreach
 Fo Bheinn Ghulbain ghlais an t-sealg;
 Do frith d'a mheid leis an torc:
 Mór an t-olc a rinn a shealg.

8

†Iar fa tharla a dhàil³
 Mac Ua Dhuibhne, gràdh nan sgoil,—
 Ach, so in sgeul fa'n tuirseach mnàì—
 Gabhar leis do làimh an torc.

9

Ri clàisteachd co-ghàir na Féinn'
 An ear 's an iar teachd fa a ceann
 Eirgheas an fhuathbheist o suain
 Is gluaiseas bhuatha air a' ghleann.

¹ Gwir lai finn, D., i.e. guidhear le Fionn; torchair le Fion, *R. C.*, p. 166; dh'imir iad, *R. C.*, p. 274; *L. na F.*, pp. 158^a, 162^b; *Fians*, p. 60.

² Gillir roy^t, D.

³ Eir fa harlow a zail, D.; charaich e chuige 's na dhàil, *L. na F.*, 159^a; lacking in other versions.

10

Cuireas ri faicinn nan laoch
 An seann torc sìdhe air fraoch borb
 Bu ghéire na gàinne sleagh
 Bu tréine, is eadh, na gath-bolg.

11

Mac Ua Dhuibhne nan arm geur
 Freagrair leis an fhuathbheist uile,
 'Na taoibh ghil trom neimhnigh gaidh¹
 Cuireas sleagh an dàil an tuire.

12

Brisear an crann leis fa thrì
 'S a cheann fa réir air a' mhuc ;
 An t-sleagh o 'bhais bharrdheirg bhlàith
 Nior² ait leis nochar shàith 'n a corp

13

Tairngeas an t-seann lann a truaill,
 Do choisinn mór bhuaidh an àir :
 Marbhas Mac Ua Dhuibhne a' bhéist,
 Do thàinig féin d'a h-éis slàn.

14

Tuiteas sprochd air Fionn na Féinn
 Is suidheas sè 's a' chnoc ;
 Mac Ua Dhuibhne nior dhiùlt dàimh,
 Olc leis a theachd slàn o'n torc.

15

Air bhith dho fada 'na thosd
 Adubhairt ger bh'olc r'a ràdh,
 'Tomhais, a Dhiarmaid, o shoe
 Cia mheud troigh 'san torc so atà.'

16

Char dhiùlt e atehuinge Fhinn,
 Olc leinn gun e theachd d'a thigh,
 Tomhaisidh an torc air a dhruim
 Mac Ua Dhuibhne nach trom troigh

¹ na teive reyll trom nayvny^t gay, D. ; o'n t-slios thaobh-gheal shlamhnuich thla | chas e'n t-sleagh an dàil an tuire, *L. na F.*, pp. 162^b ; bho'n bhus 's deirge eilltrich bhlàth | 's bu chràdh leinn nach b'ann na corp, 164^a.

² rait, D. ; cf. bu chràdh leinn, etc., in note above.

17

'Tomhais 'na aghaidh e a rithis,
 A Dhiarmaid, gu mion an tore;
 Fa leat is rogha dh'a chionn,
 A ghille nan arm rinn-goirt.'

18

Iompaidheas, bu thurus gàidh,
 Is tomhaisidh dhaibh an tore:
 Goinidh am friogh nimhe garbh
 Bun an laoich bu gharg an trod.

19

Tuitidh an sin air an raon
 Mac Ua Dhuibhne nar fhaomh feall;
 'Na laighe do thaoibh an tuire,
 Ach, sin aidheadh dhuit gu dearbh.

20

Atà sè an sin fa chriaidh,
 Mac Ua Dhuibhne, ciabh nan cleachd,
 Aon mhacaomh fuileach na Féinn',
 'San tulaich so 'chìim, fa fheart.

21

Seabhag sùlghorm Easa-ruaidh,
 Fear le'm beireadh buaidn gach àir,
 An déidh a thorchair le tore
 Fa thulchain a' chnuic so 'tà.

22

Diarmad Mac Ua Dhuibhne fhéil
 A thuiteam troimh eud mo nuar;
 Bu ghile a bhràigh na gréin,
 Bu dheirge a bheul na blàth cnù.

23

Bu bhuidhe a fhionnadh¹ is a fholt,
 Fada rosg barrghlan f'a fhleasg;
 Guirme is glaise 'na shùil,
 Maise is caise an cùl nan cleachd.

¹ Fa boe Innis a olt, D.

24

Binneas is grinneas 'na ghlòir,
 Gile 'na dhòid bharrdheirg bhlàith,
 Meud agus éifeachd 'san laoch,
 Seinge is saoire 'na chneas bàn.

25

Coimhtheachtach¹ is mealltair bhan,
 Mac Ua Dhuibhne bu mhear buaidh
 An t-suirghe char thog a sùil
 O chuireadh ùir air a ghruaidh.

26

Iomairteach éididh is each,
 Fear an éiginn chreach nior chearr,
 Gille a b' fhearr gaisge is aoibh,
 Ach, truagh mar a faoth² 'sa ghleann.

NOTES

V. 1, *taobh*, m. or f., appears to be f. throughout. *Faoidh*, a cry. *Rithidh*, 3rd pl. ipft. ind. (habitual) of *rithim*, I run. *Air*, up; cf. *air a' ghleann*, v. 9. *V.* 3, *air Fhionn Fàil*, about F. of Fail, i.e. Ireland. *V.* 4, *sgealg*, meaning unknown to me. *Féadann*, habitual pr. of *féadaim*, I am able. *V.* 5, *geallair uaithe*, there is wagered from him; the subject is to be supplied from the following line a *dhiongbháil*, etc. *V.* 6, *dan cuireadh*, if he would put. *V.* 7, *d'a mheud*, for all his bulk. *V.* 8, *iar fa*, etc., ? after that his tryst took place, i.e. when he encountered the boar. *V.* 12, *nior ait*, etc. it was not gladsome in his sight that he did not, etc. *V.* 13, *an t-seann lann*, the old blade; it had magic power. *V.* 18, *gàidh*, dangerous. *V.* 19, *nar fhaomh*, who did not consent to; *faomhaim*, I assent, consent. *Aidheadh*, a tragedy; Ir. *oidheadh*; O. Ir. *oided*. *V.* 25, *Coimhtheachtach*, a companion. *V.* 26, *Iomairteach*, a gamester; *faoth*=thuit.

The most interesting line from the point of view of text occurs in v. l. 4. Here the Dean has:—

'in senn tork shee be garv
 di vag ballery^t na helve mok.'

¹ Coythtych, D.

² feich, D.

Variants are:—

‘Sean torc nimhe bha garg
Thainig o bhall ard nan al-mhuc.’

Rel. Celt., i. 324.

‘An sean torc nimhe a bha garg
Thainig o Bhall ard nan Alla-mhuc.’

Leabh. na F., 162*b*.

‘An seann Torc nimhe bha garg
A ghineadh o ardail nan torc.’

Ib., 163*b*.—

‘S e ’n torc nimhe ’s e ro gharg
Bh’aig Mala liath aig sealbh mhuc.’

W. H. T., iii. 75 (cf. pp. 65, 87).

Cameron, following MacLauchlan, writes:—

‘An seann torc sidh ’bha gharbh
Do [fhac ballardaich na h-alla-mhuic].’

The key to this instructive series of corruptions is to be found in *Duanaire Fhinn*, p. 30 (Irish Text Society).

‘Fuaramar seilg iar samhain . a mbearnus Mhuici Balair
Ar ttocht duinn tar Magh nIthe . da céd laoch fa lán sgíthe
Torc trom do shíol mhuc mBalair . do marbhamar iar samhain
Cullach go ngne gairbh go ngus . ó a bhfuil i ainm ar Bernus
Nochar lamh nech a marbhadh . acht Fían Fhinn go nert-adbal
Do shíol na muc lúath leimnech . bóí ag Balar bailebheimnech.’

We held a hunt after Hallowtide in the Gorge of Balar’s pig, having
passed over Magh n-Ithe, two hundred warriors well weary.
A heavy boar of the breed of Balar’s swine we killed after the Hallowtide :
a boar of grisly shape, of power, wherefrom the gorge is named.
None had dared to kill him but the Fian of Fionn of surpassing might :
of the breed of the swift agile swine that Balar the stout smiter kept.

From this passage we learn that Balar, the Fomorian, famed for his evil eye, possessed a breed of magic swine. The specimen that haunted the gorge of Balar’s Pig when slain supplied a week’s eating for a hundred warriors with their hounds. The breed, which would have been useful in Central Europe at present, is believed to be extinct. The corrupt *Mala Liath* presupposes a form *Balaire*, which is perhaps found in *Dun Bhalaire* at Ledaig in Lorne, near the famous vitrified fort of Dun Mac Snitheachan.

GRAZING AND AGRESTIC CUSTOMS OF THE OUTER HEBRIDES

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

(*Continued from p. 262*)

Run Rig Wholly

ALL the land in Heisgeir is held in common by all the tenants of the island. There are no crofts, and consequently no portion of the land is permanently held by an individual tenant. There are ten tenants, and two of these having two shares each, the land is divided into twelve shares.

About Hallowtide—Gaelic, Samhuin—the ten tenants of the island meet for nabachd, ‘neighbourliness.’ Probably the only thing to be done at the neighbourly conference is to decide upon the piece of ground to be broken up for cultivation. This foregone conclusion decided, the men proceed at dawn of day to divide the ground. The land to be divided is called scat, clar, or leob.

The constable takes a rod and divides the scat into six equal divisions. At the boundary of each division he cuts a mark—Gaelic, beum—in the ground, which is called by the curious name of torc. The torc resembles the broad arrow of the Ordnance Department.

The word torc signifies a notch, and is applied to cattle whose ears are notched. These notch-eared cattle—‘torc-chluasach’—are frequent in the Western Isles, and are spoken of as ‘sliocd a chroidh mhara,’ the descendants of the fabled sea cattle.

The constable having marked off the scat or clar into six divisions, with the willing aid of his fellow-crofters, sends a man out from the people. Probably the man sent out of the way is the herdsman, who has no personal interest in the matter. Each of six men then puts a lot—Gaelic, crann—into a bonnet. The man sent out is recalled again,

and the bonnet is then handed to him. From this the man takes the lots, and places them one after one on a line on the ground. The order in which the lots stand on the ground is the order in which the owners of the lots stand to one another in the shares. Each man knows his own mark, and care is taken when putting them into the bonnet that no two be alike.

The two tenants who have double shares, retain their two shares each. The other four tenants subdivide their divisions with the other four men whom they represent. These subdivisions are called *imirean* or *iomairean*, rigs or ridges. Each two tenants cast lots again for the two subdivided rigs.

These arrangements are carried out quickly and quietly, and as the people themselves correctly say—‘*gun ghuth mor, gun droch fhacal*’—without a loud voice, without an evil word.

The tenants set apart a piece of ground for their herdsman, and this is called in Gaelic, *imir a’ bhuachaille*, the rig of the herdsman. This is generally the outside ridge bordering on the grazing, and called the ‘*imir ionailt*,’ the browsing rig. The reason of giving this ridge to the herd is obvious. The man will take care to keep his own ridge safe, and if that ridge be safe the others are sure to be safe, because they lie behind it.

The crofters also set apart pieces of ground for the poor among them. These are called ‘*Imirean nam bochd*,’ the ridges of the poor, and ‘*cianag nam bochd*.’

The kindness of the poor to the poor throughout these islands is wonderful.

This arrangement of the land lasts for three years, at the end of which time the ground is let out under grazing as before, and new ground is broken in. This is the *Roinn Ruith*, *Run Rig* system, pure and simple.

When the townlands are reclaiming moorland, the crofters divide the ground into long narrow strips, about five feet wide. In English these narrow strips are called

'lazy beds'—why, I do not know. In Gaelic they are called feannag. The name is in allusion to the flaying and turning over of the surface. This is an admirable way of reclaiming land, especially wet land. The deep frequent furrows allow the warmth of the sun to reach the seed in the ground from the top and both sides of the 'bed,' while the drains dry the land. The crop produced by this mode of tillage, especially in damp ground, is better than that produced by the plough.

The extent of ground which strong bodies of crofters can reclaim in a few years is surprising, and not less so the improved appearance of the land under their operations. In this manner vast tracts of country have been reclaimed and the aspect of nature converted from repulsiveness to attractiveness. Too often, however, others than the crofters have reaped the benefit.

Long stretches of the west coast of the Outer Hebrides are low and sandy. Upon these low-lying sandy shores the Atlantic storms drive great quantities of sea-weed, principally fuci. With this fuci the people manure their lands and produce their crops.

The people of Saint Kilda sing, or used to sing, a joyous song on the arrival of their birds. The song begins—

Buidheachas dha 'n Ti thainig na gugachan !
 Thainig 's na h-eoin-mhora cuide riu !
 Cailin dubh ciar dhubh bo 's a chro !
 Bo dhonn ! bo dhonn ! bo dhonn bheadarrach !
 Bo dhonn, a ruin, a bhlitheadh am bainne dhuit !
 Ho ro ! mo gheallag ! ni gu rodagach !
 Cailin dubh ciar dhubh bo 's a chro—
 Na h-eoin air tighinn ! cluinneam an ceol !

Thanks to the Being, the gannets have come,
 Yes ! and the great auks along with them.
 Dark-haired girl !—a cow in the fold !
 Brown cow ! brown cow ! brown cow, beloved ho !
 Brown cow ! my love ! the milker of milk to thee !
 Ho ro ! my fair-skinned girl—
 Dark-haired girl !—a cow in the fold,
 The birds have come !—I hear their melody !

In like manner the people of the Outer Hebrides are pleased when they see their wild shores strewn with their thrice welcome sea-weed.

In order to apprise them of the arrival of the sea-weed, most farms have a man living near the shore, whose duty it is to hoist a bundle of ragged sea-weed on the top of a pole. This man is called *am Peursair*, the perchman, and his services are paid in sea-weed and land.

Men and girls, with horses and carts and creels, labour assiduously in removing the sea-weed beyond reach of the tide. If they did not, perhaps the next tide might sweep the whole away. In their eagerness to secure the sea-weed, the people often, with the sea above their knees, work themselves and their horses altogether too much day after day.

When sea-weed is abundant on the shore, there is no restriction, but when not abundant, the sea-weed is divided into *peighinnean*, 'pennies,' as their land into rigs, ridges.

Should other work be pressing, perhaps the landed sea-weed is allowed to lie above the shore for a time. If so it soon heats and putrefies, and the smell arising from these innumerable heaps of corruption is strong and offensive to a degree. The bountiful ozone from the Atlantic, however, counteracts it all, and no harm arises.

Though they are aware that much of the substance of the sea-weed is thus lost to them, the crofters cannot do better. If possible, however, they remove the sea-weed to the ground without delay, and spread it on their fields.

Throughout the Long Island the crofters keep stock according to recognised long-established regulations among themselves. These vary to some degree in various districts. In Lews and Harris the crofters keep stock according to every pound of rent they pay. This is called *coir-sgoraidh*, grazing-right. Every cow is entitled to her progeny—*Bo le h-al*. But the number of progeny to which a cow is entitled is not the same everywhere. In some districts the cow is entitled to her calf only, in some to her calf and stirk, in some to her calf, stirk, and two-year-old quey; while in

some other districts the cow is entitled to her calf, stirk, quey, and three-year-old heifer.

This is called Suim, soum, and a man is entitled to send so many soums to the grazings of his townland. A man's whole stock is called leibhidh, and the amount of stock he is allowed to the grazing of his community is called sumachadh, souming. Of this leibhidh he sends so many soums to the townland grazing, while he keeps more or less stock of cows and horses at home on his croft. In the three townlands of Heisgeir, Hosta, and Caolas Paipil, the tenants are unable to keep any stock at home, being on the Run-Rig system pure and simple. The people make what they call a sumachadh—souming—twice a year. The first takes place at Bealltain, 1st May, and the second, after the last of the markets are held, when they have sold all the stock they care to sell for the year.

In the Uists and Barra the people keep stock according as they have a whole croft, a half croft, or a quarter croft. Each croft in the particular townland is entitled to so many soums.

If the stock of a tenant be incomplete it is called Leibhidh Briste, 'broken stock.' In that case the tenant may dispose of his grazing-right to a neighbour who may have an overstock.

The tenants of a townland will not willingly allow a fellow-tenant to sell his grazing outside the townland. There are various things which a tenant can do and which he cannot do ; and all these things, so intricate to a stranger, so easy to themselves, are well defined.

All these stock and land arrangements of the people show that they could not have been devised in ignorance ; nay, that the framers of these regulations must have been shrewd, intelligent people.

Should a tenant have an overstock of one species of animals and an understock of another species, these species are placed against one another. This is called coilpeachadh, which for want of a better term may be called 'equalising.'

In like manner, if a tenant has an overstock of the old and an understock of the young of the same species of animals, the young and the old are placed the one against the other and equalised. After the coilpeachadh is done, should there still be a balance against the tenant, he must provide for it specially. This is done by buying grass from a neighbour who is short of stock, or from a tenant in a neighbouring townland. Or perhaps his fellow-tenants may allow the man to retain the extra cow, horse, heifer, stirk, or sheep, as the case may be, on the grass till he can dispose of it at the market. If so, they will exact payment for the grazing, and this payment is added to the general fund of the community towards purchasing fresh stock.

In these and all other matters the people are forbearing and considerate towards one another, and a man placed in any difficulty is aided to the utmost by his community. If, however, a man is obstinate, he is denounced as fiacail gaibhre, gaber tooth, goat tooth, standing out against the customs of the community.

The coilpeachadh varies in some slight degree in some of the islands. The following table, however, may be accepted as fairly representing the whole Outer Hebrides :—

1 horse	is equal to	8 foals.
1 „	„	4 one-year-old fillies.
1 „	„	2 two-year-old fillies.
1 „	„	{ 1 three-year old filly.
		{ 1 one-year-old filly.
1 „	„	2 cows.
1 cow	„	8 calves.
1 „	„	4 stirks.
1 „	„	2 two-year-old queys.
1 „	„	{ 1 three-year-old quey.
		{ 1 one-year-old stirk.
1 „	„	8 sheep.
1 „	„	12 hoggs.
1 „	„	16 lambs.
1 „	„	16 geese.

Three one-year-old hoggs are equal to two sheep; one two-year-old hogg is equal to one sheep, and other modifications.

The young of the horse and the cow arrive at maturity at four years of age. The old Highlanders never worked nor bred their horses or cattle till they had arrived at maturity. They said that the horse, the mare, and the cow lasted twice as long when thus treated. In Kintail of old, an entire horse was not allowed to work before he was seven years of age. Probably nowadays that would be considered waiting too long.

The young of most animals are changed to a new name on the first day of winter. The foal becomes a loth or lothag, filly; the lamb becomes an othaisg. For these things, and for most, if not indeed for all things of this nature, 'the old people' had rhymes to assist the memory. These rhymes are invariably expressive and pithy, although now becoming obsolete.

The calf changes to a stirk—

La Samhna theirear gamhna ris na laoigh,
La 'Illeain theirear aighean riu na dheigh.

At Hallowtide the calf is called a stirk aye,
At Saint John's the stirk becomes a quey.

The young are separated from their mothers, and the new name is applied to them at Hallowmas—Gaelic, Samhuin.

Having finished their tillage, the people go early in June to the hill-grazing with their flocks. This is a busy day in the townland. The people are up and in commotion like bees about to swarm. The different families bring their herds together and drive them away. The sheep lead, the cattle go next, the younger preceding, and the horses follow. The men carry burdens of sticks, heather-ropes, spades, and other things needed to repair their summer huts (sgitheil, bothain). The women carry bedding, meal, dairy and cooking utensils. Round below their waists is a thick woollen cord or leathern strap (crios-fheile, kilt-band), underneath which their skirts are drawn up to enable them

to walk easily over the moors. Barefooted, bareheaded, comely boys and girls, with gaunt sagacious dogs, flit hither and thither, keeping the herds together as best they can, and every now and then having a neck-and-neck race with some perverse animal trying to run away home. There is much noise. Men—several at a time—give directions and scold. Women knit their stockings, sing their songs, talk and walk as free and erect as if there were no burdens on their backs nor on their hearts, nor sin nor sorrow in this world of ours, so far as they are concerned. Above this din rise the voices of the various animals being thus unwillingly driven from their homes. Sheep bleat for their lambs, lambs for their mothers; cows low for their calves, and calves low for their dams; mares neigh for their foals, and foals reply as they lightly trip round about, little thinking of coming work and hard fare. All who meet on the way bless the ‘triall,’ as this removing is called. They wish the ‘triall’ good luck and prosperity, and a good flitting day, and, having invoked the care of Israel’s Shepherd on man and beast, they pass on.

When the grazing-ground has been reached and the burdens are laid down, the huts are repaired outwardly and inwardly, the fires are rekindled, and food is prepared. The people bring forward their stock, every man’s stock separately, and, as they are being driven into the enclosure, the constable and another man at either side of the gateway see that only the proper souming has been brought to the grazing. This precaution over, the cattle are turned out to graze.

Having seen to their cattle and sorted their shealings, the people repair to their removing feast, *feisd na h-imriche*; or shealing feast, *feisd na h-airighe*. The feast is simple enough, the chief thing being a cheese, which every housewife is careful to provide for the occasion from last year’s produce. The cheese is shared among neighbours and friends, as they wish themselves and cattle luck and prosperity.

*Laoigh bhailgionn bhoirionn air gach fireach,
Piseach crodh na h-airigh.*

Every head is uncovered, every knee is bowed, as they dedicate themselves and their flocks to the care of Israel's Shepherd.

In Barra, South Uist, and Benbecula, the Roman Catholic faith predominates; here, in their touching dedicatory old hymn, the people invoke, with the aid of the Trinity, that of the angel with the cornered shield and flaming sword, Saint Michael, the patron saint of their horses; of Saint Columba the holy, the guardian over their cattle; and of the golden-haired Virgin Shepherdess, and Mother of the Lamb without spot or blemish.

I

A Mhicheil mhin! nan steud geala,
A choisinn cios air Dragon fala,
Air ghaol Dia is Mhic Muire,
Sgaoil do sgiath oirnn, dian sinn uile,
Sgaoil do sgiath oirnn, dian sinn uile.

II

A Mhoire ghradhach! Mathair Uain-ghil,
Cobhair oirnne, Oigh na h-uaisle;
A rioghainn uaibhreach! a bhuachaille nan treud!
Cum ar cuallach, cuartaich sinn le cheil,
Cum ar cuallach, cuartaich sinn le cheil.

III

A Chalum-Chille! chairdeil, chaoimh,
An ainm Athar, Mic, is Spioraid Naoimh,
Trid na Trithinn! trid na Triath!
Comraig sinne, gleidh ar triall,
Comraig sinne, gleidh ar triall.

IV

Athair! A Mhic! A Spioraid Naoimh!
Biodh an Tri-Aon leinn a la's a dh'oidhche!
'S air machair loim, no air rinn nam beann,
Bidh an Tri-Aon leinn 's bidh a lamh mu'r ceann,
Bidh an Tri-Aon leinn 's bidh a lamh mu'r ceann.

Iasgairean Bharraidh—

Athair! A Mhic! A Spioraid Naoimh!
 Biodh an Tri-Aon leinn, a la 's a dh'oidhehe!
 'S air chul nan tonn, no air thaobh nam beann,
 Bidh ar Mathair leinn, 's bidh a lamh fo'r ceann,
 Bidh ar Mathair leinn, 's bidh a lamh fo'r ceann.

THE SHEALING HYMN

I

Thou gentle Michael of the white steed,
 Who subdued the Dragon of blood,
 For love of God and of Mary's Son
 Spread over us thy wing, shield us all!
 Spread over us thy wing, shield us all!

II

Mary beloved! Mother of the White Lamb,
 Protect us, thou Virgin of nobleness,
 Queen of beauty! Shepherdess of the flocks!
 Keep our cattle, surround us together,
 Keep our cattle, surround us together.

III

Thou Columba, the friendly, the kind,
 In name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit Holy
 Through the Three-in-One, through the Three,
 Encompass us, guard our procession,
 Encompass us, guard our procession.

IV

Thou Father! Thou Son! Thou Spirit Holy!
 Be the Three-One with us day and night,
 On the machair plain, on the mountain ridge,
 The Three-One is with us, with His arm around our head,
 The Three-One is with us, with His arm around our head.

Barra Boatmen's Version of last Verse—

Thou Father! Thou Son! Thou Spirit Holy!
 Be the Three-One with us day and night,
 And on the crested wave, or on the mountain side,
 Our Mother is there, and her arm is under our head,
 Our Mother is there, and her arm is under our head.

In North Uist, Harris, and Lews, the Protestant faith entirely prevails, and the people confine their invocation to,

The Shepherd that keeps Israel,
He slumbereth not nor sleepeth.

Feuch air Fear Coimhead Israeil.
Codal cha'n aom no suain.

As the people sing their dedication, their voices resound from their shealings here literally in the wilderness, and as the music floats on the air, and echoes among the rocks, hills, and glens, and is wafted over fresh-water lakes and sea-lochs, the effect is very striking.

The walls of the shealings in which the people live are of turf, the roof of sticks covered with divots. There are usually two shealings together; the larger the dwelling, the smaller the dairy. This style of hut (sgithiol) is called 'airidh' or shealing, and 'both cheap,' or 'bothan cheap,' turf bothy; to distinguish it from the 'both cloiche' or 'bothan cloiche,' stone bothy. This is entirely constructed of stone, the roof tapering to a cone more or less pointed. The apex of the cone roof is probably finished off with a flag, through the centre of which there is a hole like that through an upper millstone, the opening for the egress of smoke and the ingress of light. There is a low doorway with a removable door, seldom used, made of wicker work, wattles, heather, or bent. In the walls of the hut, two, three, or four feet from the floor, are recesses—Gaelic, *buthailt*, Scottish 'bole'—for the various utensils in use by the people, while in the depth of the thick wall low down near the ground are the dormitories wherein the family sleep. The entrance to these dormitories, slightly raised above the floor, is a small hole, barely capable of admitting a person to creep through. This sleeping place is called 'crupa, from 'crupadh,' to crouch. It was a special feature in the architecture of the former houses of St. Kilda, the houses themselves being called 'crupa' from this characteristic. These beehive stone houses are still the sheal-

ings of the Lews people. Some are also to be seen in the forest of Harris, but none in either of the Uists or in Barra. In these places the people have practically ceased going to the summer shealings. Invariably two or three strong healthy girls share the same shealing. Here they remain making butter and cheese till the corn is ripe for shearing, when they and their cattle return home. The people enjoy this life at the hill pasturage, and many of the best lyric songs in their language are in praise of the loved summer shealing.¹

Considerable changes are now taking place among the people of the Outer Hebrides as to the rearing and the disposing of stock. Markets are more open to them, and they can sell their stock early, and of this they take advantage. But under their old conditions, and considering all their circumstances, which must be weighed before judging, probably none better than their old systems were ever devised.

In various localities and on various occasions I made minute inquiries of old people as to the detailed farm stock and domestic substance of their fathers. The people then had more land and of better quality; they had more horses, sheep, and cattle; they had more crop, and of better quality; they had better nourishing food, and they had better bed and body clothing. They had also more constructive ingenuity in arts and manufactures, and they had more mental and physical stamina, and more refinement of manners.

Therefore, go back to the old order of things under improved conditions. Unloosen their cords, and allow the people to expand by filling up the central rungs in the land ladder, all of which are at present absent, rendering it impossible for a crofter, however industrious, to rise higher than he is. To my thinking it is impolitic, as well as unjust,

¹ The writer has a small primitive stool, upon which Prince Charlie sat in one of these summer shealings during his wanderings after the disasters of Culloden. The people spoke and sung of the Prince as, *Am Buachaille Ban*, *Am Buachaille Buidhe*, 'the fair-haired Herdsman,' 'the yellow-haired Herdsman.' The allusion was understood without committing themselves.

to hem the people into a corner, thereby impoverishing the many to enrich the few. The people of the Outer Hebrides are admirable workers by sea and land, and if they are less persevering than they might be, it is the fault of circumstances.

The oral lore of the old Highland people is rapidly dying out with the old people themselves. There is an essential difference between the old and the young people. The young people are acquiring a smattering of school education in which they are taught to ignore the oral literature which tended to elevate and ennoble their fathers. A few hymns from this mass of old lore are given in this paper at the desire of the noble Chairman of this Commission, Lord Napier and Ettrick.

ALTACHADH LEAPA.—BED BLESSING

The following prayer is said or sung by Catholics in South Uist, in going to bed. The old man from whom I first took it down, told me that he had said it every night since he was fifteen years of age, and that it had been taught him by his father.

I

Tha mise laighe nochd, le Moire 's le' Mac,
Le Mathair mo Rìgh, tha gam' dhion o gach lochd ;
Cha laigh mi leis an olc, cha laigh an t-olc leam,
Ach laighidh mi le Dia, is laighidh Dia leam.

II

Lamh dheas De fo mo cheann,
Soillse an Spioraid os mo chionn ;
Crois nan naoidh aingeal tharam sìos,
O mhullach mo chinn gu iochdar mo bhonn.

III

.
Crois Mhoire 's Mhicheil, ma-riam ann an sìth,
M' anam a bhi 'm fìrinn, gu'n mhi-run am chom.

NOTE.—Since this was written many improvements have taken place in land tenure, though much more remains to be done.

These hymns, and many more, are to be found in *Carmina Gadelica*.

IV

O Ios gu'n lochd, a cheusadh goirt,
 Fo bhinn nan olc a sgiursadh Thu ;
 A liuthad lochd, a rinn mo chorp,
 Nach faod mi nochd a chunntachadh (1).

V

A Rìgh na Fola Firinnich,
 Na dibir mi o d' mhuinntireas ;
 Na tagair orm mo mhi-cheartan ;
 Na di-chuimhnich ad' chunntadh mi (1).

VI

Guidheam Peadair, guidheam Pòl,
 Guidheam Moir Oigh agus a Mac,
 Guidheam an da ostal deug,
 Gu'n mise dhol eug a nochd.

VII

A Dhia agus a Mhoire na glorach,
 Ios a Mhic na h-Oighe cubhraidh,
 Cumaibh sinne o na piantaibh ;
 { 'S o'n teine dhorecha dhuinte.
 { 'S o'n teine shiorraidh mhuchta.

VIII

.

 M' anam aig fear shorchar na frithe (2)
 Micheal geal an codhail m' anama.

(1) The iv. and v. verses were not in the first version I obtained of this beautiful hymn. I am not sure that they originally formed part of it. This, however, can only be a matter of conjecture. Not infrequently in old Gaelic poetry, sacred and profane, the measure, rhyme, assonance, and even subject, change in the same poem. Old English poetry is the same.

(2) I am not satisfied that I have correctly translated this line. *Sorch* means 'light,' in contradistinction to *dorch* 'dark.' *Sorchar*, I take it, is the man or being of light, as *dorchar* is the man or being of darkness. *Sorch*, 'Light,' is a woman's name in the Long Island.

THE BED BLESSING—(close translation)

I

I lie down this night, with Mary and with her Son,
 With the Mother of my King, who shields me from harm;
 I shall not lie down with evil, nor shall evil lie down with me,
 But I shall lie with God, and God will lie down with me.

II

The right hand of God under my head,
 The light of the Spirit Holy shining over me,
 The cross of the nine angels along me, down
 From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet.

III

.

 Be the cross of Mary and of Michael with me in peace,
 May my soul dwell in truth, and my heart be free of guile.

IV

O Jesus, without offence, who wast crucified cruelly
 Under sentence of the evil ones, Thou wert scourged;
 The many evils done by me in this body
 That cannot this night be numbered!

V

Thou King of the Blood of Truth,
 Omit me not from thy covenant,
 Exact not from me for my sins,
 Nor forget me in thy numbering.

VI

I pray Peter, pray I Paul,
 I pray Mary, Virgin, and her Son,
 I pray the Apostles twelve
 That I may not die this night.

VII

O God! O Mary of Glory!
 O Jesus! Thou Son of the Virgin fragrant,
 Keep ye us from the pains,
 { And from the dark hidden fire,
 { And from the everlasting suffocating fire.

VIII

My soul is with the Light of the mountains,
Archangel Michael, shield my soul !

TALADH NA BANACHAIG.—THE MILKMAID'S LULLABY

The following poem is interesting from the three chiefs introduced at the end. Although these liltts were meant only to soothe and quiet the cows in being milked, they yet show, unconsciously, much that is interesting of the past, if not of the present, life of the Highlands and Islands.

Fonn.—Ho m' aghan ! ho m' agh min !
Ho m' aghan ! ho m' agh min !
Ho m' aghan ! ho m' agh min !
A chridheag chridh', is toigh leam thu.

I

Fhaic thu bho ud air an liana,
'S a laogh mear aic air a bialaibh
Dean thusa mar a rinn i chiana
Thoir am bainne a laogh na Fianaich
Ho m' aghan, etc.

II

Thoir am bainne, bho dhonn !
Thoir am bainne gu trom 's gu torrach,
Thoir am bainne, bho dhonn,
'S na h-uaislean a tigh'nn an bhaile
Ho m' aghan, etc.

III

Thoir am bainne, bho dhonn !
'S gu'n ann daibh ach an t-aran !
Thoir am bainne, bho dhonn,—
Macneill ! Macleoid ! MacAilein !
Ho m' aghan, etc.

THE CELTIC REVIEW

THE MILKMAID'S LULLABY—(close translation)

Chorus—Ho my heifer ! ho my heifer fair !
 Ho my heifer ! ho my heifer fair !
 Ho my heifer ! ho my heifer fair !
 Thou heartling, heart, I love thee !

I

Behold that cow on the plain,
 With her frisky calf before her ;
 Do thou as she did a while ago—
 Give thy milk, thou calf of Fianach.
 Ho my heifer, ho my heifer fair.

II

Give thy milk, brown cow,
 Give thy milk so abundant and rich ;
 Give thy milk, brown cow,
 And the gentles coming to the townland.
 Ho my heifer, etc.

III

Give thy milk, brown cow,
 And that there is nothing for them but bread.
 Give thy milk, brown cow,
 Macneill ! Macleod ! Clanranald !
 Ho my heifer, etc.

MAR CHIREIN NAN STUAGH

The following verses are said to have been composed in Benbecula in the time of bows and arrows. They are singularly chaste, beautiful, and elevated. They indicate, I think, the wonderful natural refinement of the people who could appreciate, preserve, and repeat these, and whole libraries of similar oral literature, throughout the past ages.

The oral literature of the Highlands and Islands is singularly pure in tone and poetical in expression. I have taken down large quantities of this literature, probably a small library in the mass, and I have never heard, either in this or among the people, an unbecoming word or an impure story.

I went much among the very poorest of the people,

among a people whose pinched features betrayed their poverty, yet during nearly seventeen years in Uist I was never once asked for charity. Their proprietor in South Uist, the late Mr. John Gordon, did not exaggerate when he said, 'The Uist people are all born gentlemen—every man of them.' Yet, these are the people so often misrepresented, and sometimes so cruelly maligned, by men who do not know them.

The Uist people are excellent workers, and for the farming best adapted for their country infinitely before the best farming representatives that have been brought against them from the south. All these successively have had to adopt the native system of farming, after proving the unsuitableness of their own.

I

Mar chirein nan stuagh uaine ta mo ghaol,
A h-eugasg tlath, mar dhearsa speuran ard ;
Mar sheudan loinneireach, a da shuil chaoin ;¹
Mar arradh air bharr sleibh, fo ghrein nan trath.

II

O ! càit am facas bean is aille snuagh,
Cà'm facas riabh air cluain, le ceumaibh sèimh,
Do shamhuil fein, a gheug nam mìle buadh,
Mar chlacha buadha, 's an or is aille agèimh !

In the following translation I have endeavoured to adhere closely to the original.

THE WHITE CREST OF THE WAVE

I

To the white crest, of the green wave, I liken my love,
Her countenance warm, like the beaming sky above ;
Like brilliant jewels are her two blue sparkling eyes,
Like the glancing sunbeams, all radiant from the skies.

II

Oh ! where has e'er been seen a lovelier form or face ?
On lawn, or plain, or field, of statelier mien or grace ?
Thou branch of thousand beauties in thy pride of beauty's joy !
Thou gem in purest gold, yea gold without alloy !

BOOK REVIEWS

Alasdair MacColla : Sain-eolus ar a ghnìomharthaibh gaisge : Seosamb Laoide : Connradh na Gaedhilge ; i mBaile Atha Cliath, 1914. (76 duilleagan ; tasdan slán.)

Ann an leabhran so gheibhear iomradh air euchdan a' churaidh ainmeil sin Alasdair MacCholla mhic Ghille-easbuig, a thàinig de shìol Dhomhnallach Dhùin-Naomhaig an Ìle, agus a bha 'na cheannard air na h-Eireannaich treuna a rinn cogadh an Albainn air taobh a' cheud Rìgh Tearlach fo chomann Marcus Mhontròis. Tha an eachdraidh air a cuir sìos mar a gheibhear i an sgrìobhaidhean Néill Mhic Mhuirich, seanchaidh Mhic 'ic Ailein, agus chuir am fear-deasachaidh rithe mar an ceudna cuid mhath de bhàrdachd Chlann Mhuirich agus bhàrd eile a tha a' leigeil soluis air cliù agus sinnseireachd nan Dòmhnallach. A bharrachd air sin gheibhear anns an leabhar sgeul air Caithréim Alasdair fo laimh Eoin Mhic Néill, agus a bharrachd air sin a rithis tha ann gearr-fhoclaire, cunntas air pearsana, agus dinnseanchas, no cunntas air ainmean àitean. Ged is beag an leabhar so, cha bheag a luach. Tha sinn buidheach de shaothair an fhir-dheasachaidh agus bu mhath leinn gu'n ruigeadh a shaothair Gàidheil na h-Alba. Ghabh Mr. Laoide mór-chùram an deasachadh an leabhair, ach ged is tearc meang ann, tha beagan a ghabhas leasachadh, mar a tha 'an Earra f. Harris ; gen. na h-Earradh'. 'The Howe of the Mearns=Togh na Maoirne': is e as ciall do *Howe*, aite iosal, agus is e theirear ris an àite so 'Lagan (no lag) na Maoirne.' A rithis, an àite Inbhear nArann, Inbhear Nois, Loch Tátha, Allt Eirinn is e bu chòir a sgrìobhadh Inbhear Narann, Inbhear Nis, Loch Tatha, Allt Eireann, agus an àite 'Bun Neimheis, the foot of Nevis, i.e. Ben Nevis' is e bu chòir a ràdh, Bun Nibheis. i. Bun Abhainn Nibheis, o'n ghoirear Beinn Nibheis d'an bheinn as mò am Breatunn.

Church Life in Ross and Sutherland : from the Revolution (1688) to the Present Time. Compiled chiefly from Tain Presbytery Records by COLIN MACNAUGHTON, Minister of Tain Parish. Inverness: Northern Counties Newspaper and Printing and Publishing Company, Limited, 1915. 463 pp. 5s. net.

This volume forms a useful addition to our information regarding the administration of religious matters in Easter Ross during the period covered. The author has kept to the records of the Presbytery of Tain, of which he is clerk, and the district dealt with is the peninsula lying between Tarbat Ness on the east and on the west Averon Water and the heights of Kincardine and Rosskeen. The opening chapter introduces us to the transition between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. In 1693 it appears that there were only four Presbyterian ministers within the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland, and no meeting of Presbytery was held from November 1693 till September 1695, 'because it was judged fit that

the Presbytery of Ross and Sutherland should join in Presbytery with the brethren in the province of Murray.' This arrangement was altered in 1695 as being unworkable. For some time the cases of curates, conforming and recusant, kept the brethren active. In December 1706 the connection with Sutherland was severed, and the district of Easter Ross was erected into the Presbytery of Tain, and as matters were arranged then they are now. Space forbids anything like a *résumé* of the varied contents of the book, but it should be said that the author has dealt judiciously with his materials, and has given us not a succession of titbits of the *fama clamosa* type, but the events of significance—not only ecclesiastically but also socially. Some of these make brisk enough reading.

We read that Adam Gordon of Dalfolly, George Gray of Skibo, and others, with servants, horses, and baggage, caused themselves to be ferried across Portincoultter on a Sabbath morning in February 1722, and rode to Tain, which they reached an hour before church service. Instead of attending which they remained eating and drinking, but especially drinking, in Bailie Ross's house, while their servants did, or tried to do, business with horrified tradesmen. Thence to Knockbreck and more drinking till after public worship, when, first firing off their pistols, they rode through Ross to Invergordon Ferry, where some crossed to the Black Isle and some returned to Tain. Serious notice had to be taken of such proceedings. Adam Gordon professed remorse and promised in the Lord's strength not to give the like offence hereafter: the other delinquents likewise. They got off cheaply with censure. Mr. Macnaughton considers the treatment unusually mild, but they were heritors. The important secession in Nigg, following on opposition to the royal presentee, forms an instructive chapter. The author blames the presentee for forcing himself on an unwilling people: but the system that encouraged such proceedings was surely wrong. The great Disruption of 1843 and its immediate consequences are dealt with shortly and temperately. The book closes with a list of ministers of the various parishes in the Presbytery of Tain from the Revolution to the present day, and an index of subjects. The volume contains a wealth of attested facts, presented clearly and pleasantly, and it should be read by many, all good Ross-shire people in particular. It would have greatly facilitated reference if at the top of the pages, instead of otiosely repeating the title 446 times, the author had given a catch heading referring to contents. The printing and form of this book are excellent.

Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediæval Documents. By LEO WIENER, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature at Harvard University. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1915. Pp. lxi+224.

This very learned and stimulating book is an attempt to trace the influence of certain terms and legal conceptions of late Roman codes, especially the code of Theodosius (who reigned 401-450 A.D.) on the

morphological and semantic development of European languages. In course of his researches Professor Wiener has come to the conclusion that even as the Cherokees passed *per saltum* from the position of savages to the acceptance of a code of laws based on that of the United States, and to civilised customs, so the Teutonic tribes adopting and adapting the Roman code made so sudden an advance in civilisation that Germanic scholars, contemplating their position in the fifth century, claimed for these tribes a civil existence and a regularised life reaching back to a period long before that date. This conception of an early Golden Age of independent Teutonic evolution, the author regards as a wholly unhistorical figment, and proves his position by comparison of the codes. This is rather a blow to a certain school, but worse remains. Professor Wiener in course of his investigations has satisfied himself that the Gibraltar of Germanic philology, the Gothic language, stands on a formation of sand. 'There does not exist the slightest proof that the fragments of the Gothic Bible, as we now possess it, were part of a translation made by Ulfilas in the fourth century. The tradition which has grown up in regard to the whole Gothic question is based on a vicious circle, of which the authorship of the Bible is the initial step.' It is not necessary for our purpose to follow his argument, but whatever may be thought of his conclusions, one thing is plain: they are the conclusions of a man who has gone over the evidence, and who possesses a firm grasp of his subject. His method is historical and will be better understood by examples, in the selection of which we choose Celtic ones.

In the Theodosian Code *fisco sociare* means to confiscate, hence a formula *sociante fisco*, under confiscation by the treasury, whence a further development *socio fisco*, meaning under compulsion by the fiscus. Among the Goths the executive officer for carrying out the decrees of his superiors was *sagio*, *saio*, whose chief duty consisted in 'taking away, confiscating' in the name of the judicial authority, and a compound thereof is *sacibaro*,¹ a collector, hence, from his appearance in courts, 'a spokesman, accuser,' and hence the Germanic languages, with the exception of the Gothic, have developed from this *sagi*- the root *sag*-speak,' seen in Germ. *sagen*, English *say*. Further, 'O. Irish *saig*-tendere, petere, adire is derived from this Germanic *sag*-, to prosecute at court.' This means, if we have not mistaken the argument, that O. Ir. *saigim*, I seek, is a loan through Germanic from Lat. *socius*. We find this hard of belief.

Similarly, by a most interesting historical process, the author will have it proved that from certain developments in the usage of Latin *devotus* arise Gothic *thiuda*, Gaelic *tuath*, Welsh *tud*. Gaelic *duine*, man, he makes a loan from *decanus*. Gaulish *vassus*, a dependant, Welsh *gwas*, O. Ir. *foss*, slave, are loans ultimately from *vasarium*, a tax-book. *Vēredus*, a running horse, a post horse, which has hitherto been reckoned a loan from Gaulish into Latin, is stated, or hinted, to be Persian *barid*, a courier, based on

¹ Whence obviously *communis elemosina que dicitur sauchbarian*: the common charity which is called 'the collection.'—*Chartulary of St. Andrews*.

Assyrian *paradu*, to hasten, *purīdu*, messenger. Provincials were obliged to furnish *veredi* as a road-imposition, commuted later for a payment in money, or, in Italy, in provender, *annona*. Thus to levy a road-rate was *veredum exigere*, which in time changed to *foderum exigere*, this again is equivalent to *annonam exigere*, whence *foderum*=*annona*=provisions=fodder. *Reda*, a chariot, stated by Quintilian to be a Gaulish word, comes from *paradu* through Greek, thus: **βερédos* or *βεραιδος*>**βρédos*>*ρέδη*, *ρέδιον* whence *reda*, 'directly derived from the Greek of Ptolemaic Egypt.' Hence *inter alia plurima* O. Ir. *riadaim*, I drive. Here it may be suggested, with due timidity, that (1) in *reda* the *e* is long; (2) O. Ir. *riadaim* could not come from *reda*, but only from *rēda*; (3) the cognate words in O. Norse *rtōa*, etc., show a long vowel. But we have little hope of Professor Wiener caring much for these things.

'All the other European languages have derived the word for shield from Lat. *scutum*. We have O. Ir. *sciath*, O. Welsh *scuit*, O. Breton *scoit*, Cornish *ysguydh*.' Here one is bound to protest that there is no means known whereby *sciath* could be derived from *scutum*; it may be cognate with it, not derived from it. Also it is possible that the British forms were influenced by *scutum*.

O. Ir. *dligim*, I owe, is stated to be a loan from L. Lat. *dulgere*, from Lat. *indulgere*. 'The conception of "debt" has arisen in the Germanic, Slavic, and Celtic languages through contact with Roman law.' In the case of Slav and Germanic this may very well be. In Cæsar's time neither Slav nor Teuton had advanced appreciably, on Professor Wiener's argument, beyond the primitive non-accounting stage. But Gaul had an organised society, trade, ships, mines. It is very difficult to suppose that the Gauls had not both the conception of debt and a word to express it. The vocalisation of *dligim* is against its being a loan from *dulgeo*, and the O. Ir. noun *dliged* goes to show that the word is native Celtic.

Professor Wiener makes a point that is worth consideration when he suggests that the very curious Irish system of fasting on a debtor as a means of compelling him to pay up was derived from the ceremony, which appears to have been necessary in certain cases under the Salic law, of sitting from morning till sunset for a series of days before proceeding with the case in court. This, says the author, was a development of the Roman law of the year 382, according to which the severer cases were not to be proceeded with at once, but the defendants were to be watched by a guard for the period of thirty days. But this derivation of the Irish practice of fasting is not to be accepted offhand.

A fair general criticism, so far as the Gaelic expressions treated of are concerned, is that the author, notwithstanding his praiseworthy use of the historical method, has not considered, openly at least, the historical question, under what conditions was it possible for the loans he has suggested, specimens of which have been given above, to have been effectively borrowed into Irish? In the opinion of the present writer, most, if not all, of the terms in question, in so far as they have any etymological relation to Latin, etc., are cognates, not loans.

Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature. Dublin: Printed under the Authority of His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1913. Pp. 307.

This work was begun in 1904 as an endeavour to meet the needs of students in the National Library of Ireland, and was at first compiled on cards. After the test of seven or more years of constant use, it was decided by His Majesty's Stationery Office, on the recommendation of the Irish Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, to have the scope enlarged, the details revised, and the information published in book form. The result is a very great boon to students. The general headings, subdivisions, copious index, and general excellence of arrangement make reference easy, not only to books published in Irish or about Irish, but also to articles and tracts. For instance, under O Dálaigh (Aonghus nan Aoir), we are referred to George Henderson's article in *Inverness Gael. Soc. Trans.*, xxvi. 458-466, and so on with regard to hundreds of tracts and articles on special subjects, the existence of which to many students would otherwise be unknown. The book is indispensable to students and to libraries.

An Irish Corpus Astronomiae, being Manus O'Donnell's Seventeenth Century Version of the Lunario of Geronimo Cortès. Edited, with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Glossary, by Rev. F. W. O'CONNELL, M.A., B.D., Lecturer in the Celtic Languages and Literature in the Queen's University of Belfast, and R. M. HENRY, Professor of Latin in the Queen's University of Belfast. London: David Nutt, 1915. Pp. xxxvii+252. 10s. 6d. net.

Maghnus O Domhnaill, the translator of this *Corpus Astronomiae* from Spanish into Irish Gaelic, was a student at Salamanca during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Of his life nothing is known, but in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there exist in his handwriting translations of two of the Spanish romances of Montalvan, *Richard and Lisarda* and *The Enchanted Palace*. One of the MSS., dated 1706, bears the legend '*leis an tsagart. i. Maghnus O Domhnaill.*' The Gaelic of the translation is clear and fluent. The translator's grasp of the language is such that he has no difficulty with technical terms, though sometimes he chooses to borrow the Spanish word, and sometimes, quite unnecessarily, uses English words, e.g. *is é opinion coitcheann na n-astronomic*, p. 164. The position of the Spanish author with regard to modern learning is indicated by his authorities on agriculture, viz., Pliny, Palladius and Abencerief. The treatise deals first with chronology, passes on to physics and agriculture, then treats of astrology, and ends with a perfunctory account of the application of astrology to medical theory and practice. The author's intellectual standpoint is explained in a concise Introduction, which gives a most useful synopsis of the work done by ancient scholars and investigators in the departments of chronology, physical science, and astronomy, and the relations of the last named to medical practice. Valuable and curious information is conveyed also in the notes. The book is beautifully printed, and forms an interesting addition to Irish literature.

W. J. W.

Farquharson Genealogies from the Brouchdearg MS. of 1733, with Continuation and Notes. By A. M. MACKINTOSH, author of *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*. Impression of 100 copies. No. I. *Achriachan Branch*. 3s. 1913. No. II. *Inverey Branch*. 7s. 1914. Nairn: George Bain.

The study of clan history and genealogy has an absorbing interest for all Celtic people, and as years go on that study becomes more scientific, fresh ground has to be traversed and older authorities, on occasion, have to be put aside, or corrected on points long accepted as of undeniable accuracy.

This is well illustrated in Mr. A. M. Mackintosh's recent contribution to genealogical research.

In *Farquharson Genealogies* Nos. I. and II., Mr. Mackintosh shows the same keen desire to reject everything dubious as he did in his well-known work, *The Mackintoshes and the Clan Chattan*, published in 1901.

That work includes a chapter on Clan Farquharson or Finlay as a sept of the Clan Chattan, and Mr. Mackintosh's researches, and the publication of *The Records of Invercauld* by the Spalding Club in the same year, drew attention to a family more or less obscure as to its origin, yet always accorded a respectable position amongst other Highland families of note.

In the two pamphlets before us Mr. Mackintosh has amplified the information contained in his former book. Taking an old MS. genealogy, known as the Brouchdearg MS., as his text, and carefully following up the various statements made, he has corroborated or amended them as necessary by careful searching in Aberdeenshire Records and in the Register House in Edinburgh. The MS. from which he works forms one of the most interesting Highland documents extant, and it must be quoted by all writers on Clan Farquharson. Though well known to local historians, and largely used in *The Records of Invercauld*, it has fallen to Mr. Mackintosh to give the genealogy a wider publicity and to establish even the exact identity of its writer, Alexander Farquharson of Brouchdearg, and to refute once for all the attacks made upon him in the first years of the eighteenth century by Sir Æneas MacPherson of Invereshie in a wonderful pamphlet entitled *Vanitie Exposed*.

Alexander Farquharson wanted to make his clan out to be of more ancient origin than it was. Sir Æneas denied it an origin at all; but Mr. Mackintosh shows Farquharson of Brouchdearg to be an accurate family historian in matters within his own knowledge; and papers found of recent years at Castle Grant show that Finlay Mor, son of Farquhar the founder of the clan, whom Sir Æneas styles a common soldier, was a king's tenant, signing his name in Latin to a document in 1527.

From this Finlay Mor Farquharson, Brouchdearg starts and traces his many sons and their descendants down to 1733; and Mr. Mackintosh has taken two families, and, giving the exact paragraph from the MS. relating to each, has made out all the references, and carried on the line where possible. His notes represent a stupendous amount of research, and his efforts to discover the whereabouts of the two original copies of the MS. are beyond praise. He works from copies belonging to Dr.

J. Stuart of the Spalding Club and to Major Lachlan Forbes, the Invercauld copy not being available. The second volume contains a good genealogical tree, and it is perhaps to be regretted that the first volume did not contain a condensed tree to show all the ramifications, as often the reader has to hunt back through the copious notes to recollect a point which in a tree is seen at a glance. Finlay Mor Farquharson, who was killed at Pinkie in 1547, is credited with four sons by his first wife, the daughter of a Stewart, and five sons by his second wife, Beatrice Garden of Banchory.

It is with the second family the MS. is concerned; and though uncertainty exists as to which of the five sons was the eldest, it is usually stated that Donald was the eldest, Robert the second, then Lachlan, George, and Finla in the order named.

Donald was known as 'of Castletown,' and from him descended the first family of Monaltrie, and of Whitehouse, Finzean, Inverey, Auchendryne, Balmoral, Tullochcroy, Belnabodach, Corrachree, Coldrach, and Tullycairn. From Robert came Invercauld, Lesmoir, and the second Monaltrie family; from Lachlan came Brouchdearg, the Rochallie and Persie families. From George that of Deskry; and from Finla Achriachan, Tolderchall, Breda, and Allergue. The family and genealogy of Invercauld being well known, and that of Whitehouse and Finzean also, Mr. Mackintosh has turned his attention in Part I., limited to a hundred copies, to the descendants of Finla Farquharson of Achriachan, and reprints the genealogy in full five pages, supplementing it with forty pages of most careful notes. The genealogy is brought down from 1733 to the present day, and reveals the interesting fact that the last heir male in the direct line is a French subject, Charles Alexander Finlay, third Baron d'Auchriachan, born in 1829, who by a touching coincidence is the only one of the line who bears the founder's name, being descended from John, second son of the fifth Farquharson of Achriachan, who, educated at the Scots College in Paris, entered the French King's Scottish Body Guard in 1741, and becoming a French subject assumed the name of Charles Stuart.

The pedigree of the claimants in the Breda Succession Case, 1859, is set forth with great clearness, as Farquharson of Breda and Farquharson of Allergue were offshoots of Achriachan and Allergue is still represented in the female line by Major David Wilson-Farquharson of Allergue. Another descendant was Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Farquharson, married to the Baron de Hugel, sometime Austrian Ambassador in Italy.

The Second Farquharson Genealogy printed in 1914, *The Inverey Branch*, also limited to a hundred copies, amplifies what was previously printed as to the general history of the clan, and gives more information as to the 'Tutor' of Brouchdearg. Mr. Mackintosh has proved to his own satisfaction that he was not Alexander Farquharson sometime tutor and afterwards laird of Brouchdearg, who died some twenty years before the date of the MS., but his nephew Alexander, who was his predecessor in the lairdship, a small one to the south of Glenshee, in Perthshire, but from whom it was adjudged, whilst still a lad, in 1683. Known to local legend

as 'Fear-na-bruach,' the Man of the Braes, he lived at Invercauld till 1747 or 1748, and the genealogy against which Sir Æneas MacPherson wrote so violently was written in 1697 to 1703, although 'made in 1707' is the generally received date. Then in 1733 Brouchdearg produced the other MS., omitting the descent from the Earls of Fife, which had adorned the earlier production. This and another copy came to be known as the Whitehouse and Finzean copies, neither of which is forthcoming. From the Whitehouse copy was made that on which Mr. Mackintosh works, and is brought down later than 1733. *Farquharson Genealogies*, No. II., extends to ninety-one pages and covers that branch of the family which is doubtless the most romantic and interesting—Inverey at the head waters of the Dee; Inverey against which a curse was fulminated; Inverey that produced the 'Black Colonel' and 'Maighistir Iain,' the famous Gaelic scholar Father John Farquharson of Douai and Strathglass. Inverey branched off into Auchendryne, Balmoral, Tullochcroy, Belnabodach and Corrachree, families still represented in the male line in New Zealand by Mr. James Farquharson, of Signal Hill, Dunedin, and in Scotland by his son Francis Farquharson, of Belnabodach; and in the female line by Major Ferguson, through succeeding to his uncle, Major MacPherson-Farquharson of Corrachree. The Invereys descended from Donald, eldest son of Finla Mor by his second wife, called of Castletown and Monaltrie; and from him came also the families of Whitehouse, Finzean, Allanaquoich, Coldrach and Tullycairn. It begins with 'Donald MacFheanlay's fourth son, James of Inverey,' an interesting spelling of the Gaelic 'MacFhionnlaigh,' and preserved in the Pasfield Oliver's family, whose great-grandmother was Mary, daughter of John Farquharson of Invercauld.

The hero of Deeside is undoubtedly (after Donald Og na h-Alba) the third Inverey, known as the 'Black Colonel' or 'Colonel of the Marrmen at the Revolution under my Lord Dundee,' as the genealogist has it, round whom are woven many tales in the well-known and fascinating book *Legends of the Braes o' Mar*.

Mr. Mackintosh has made plain the stirring ballad of the Baron of Braichlie, in which the 'Black Colonel' plays a gallant if unlawful part—a ballad which some hold belonged to an earlier period.

If it were only for the notes on the ballad the pamphlets would be valuable, and to any one who wishes to understand the history of the Highlands of Aberdeenshire throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they are a storehouse of accurate information. Every reference is verified and clue followed up, and No. II. is embellished by an interesting picture of Old Balmoral from a print belonging to the Rev. John Stirton, and once in the possession of Mrs. Chisholm of Glassburn, the grand-daughter of Lewis Farquharson, brother of James, 'last Farquharson of Balmoral.'

'Old Balmoral' is described as a picturesque, crowstepped, whitewashed, ivy-clad house by one yet living, who stood at the door of his cottage and saw it blown up to make room for the royal dwelling of that dynasty whose

seat on the throne was once threatened by the brave men of Mar under James Farquharson of Balmoral and Inverey, who was wounded at Falkirk.

It is to be sincerely hoped that Mr. Mackintosh will be able to give us yet further notes from the Brouchdearg MS., for he knows how to make fact and romance go hand-in-hand, and the old scribe whom he follows has recorded many graphic little episodes, notes Gaelic with names of clansmen all bearing the same Christian names, and shows a truly Highland pride in his race.

It is also to be hoped that the limited edition may speedily be sold out in order to help the author to carry on this labour of love on the archives of a family which, if much declined in numbers to-day, is yet proud to record its descent from the many sons of Findla the Great.

NOTE.—The name of the Founder is Englished indiscriminately as Finla, Findla, and Finlay, and either form is permissible.

LOUISA E. FARQUHARSON.

Keys to the Baskish Verb in Leizarragas New Testament. By E. S. DODGSON, M.A. London: H. Milford, 1915.

For many years Mr. Dodgson has been gradually publishing his index to the numerous and complicated forms of the Basque verb which occur in the oldest prose monument of the language, the version of the New Testament by Leizarrage, which was published at La Rochelle in 1571. The present instalment is much larger than any of its predecessors, extending to no less than 624 pages, but comprises some portions which were formerly issued separately. Here are included St. John's Gospel, the Acts, the Apocalypse, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Titus, and those of St. James and St. Peter. The method adopted by Mr. Dodgson really amounts to printing the greater portion of all these texts under the forms of the verb, together with the French equivalents from a New Testament of 1566. The addition of the French texts, and the device of printing the verb in italics with its complement in capitals, makes it possible to learn a great deal about the language by a process of simple comparison. We have found that with the help of these indexes alone it is possible to make some progress towards understanding the *Testamentu Berria*, edited by Mr. Dodgson in 1908.

Although the old idea that Basque had some relationship to the Celtic languages has gone the way of many other linguistic fancies, there is still some reason why Celtic scholars should not quite ignore it. It is possible that it is the sole representative of the supposed 'Iberian' tongues which preceded Celtic in Western Europe, and which may have in some way influenced Celtic idiom and syntax. The difficulty of deciding whether early place-names are Celtic or pre-Celtic might also be diminished by some study in this field. For these reasons Celtic scholars ought not to overlook Mr. Dodgson's work, which also sets a good example of careful and patient collecting and arranging of linguistic material. There is still much work of this kind which might be done with profit on older Irish and even Scottish Gaelic Texts. However mechanical the work of index-making may seem, a good index has seldom failed to be of service, and has often led to discoveries of some importance.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

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